

THE
MEMOIRES
OF
JAMES Lord AUDLEY
Earl of CASTLEHAVEN,
HIS
Engagement and Carriage
IN THE
WARS
OF
IRELAND,
From the Year 1642. to the Year 1651.
WITH AN
APPENDIX,
Relating Wars abroad that he
hath either seen or known; with
some OBSERVATIONS on the
whole.

Written by himself.

London, Printed for Joanna Brome at the Gun in
St. Pauls Church-Yard. 1681.

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TO THE
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SIR,

I Lay at your Majesties feet these my Memoirs, with an Appendix relating Wars abroad, that I have either seen, or came within the compass of my knowledge, I being of the Armies, though not present in every occasion; also some Observations on the whole.

a 2 They

They are contracted in so little a Volume, the more to invite you to read them, if your time may permit.

The Style is plain and simple, otherwise it could not be mine; but the care I have taken to set down truths, and with (I hope) few or no mistakes, may make amends.

*Your Majesties
Most faithful Subject
and dutiful Servant*

Castlehaven Audley.

TO THE
R E A D E R.



Being one day in S. Pauls Church-yard, amongst the Stationers, some Books fell into my hands lately set forth: *Histories of the Rebellion begun in Ireland, in the year 1641. with the Wars and Transactions that followed on that occasion*; and finding my self in many places cited, acting as a confederate Cat^ho-lick, which in plain English is as a Rebel; I thought fit to publish something, setting forth my own story (not to excuse the Rebellion, or those who were

The Epistle to the Reader.

were forced into it, as I was, it having been begun most bloudily on on the English in that Kingdom, in a time of settled peace, without the least occasion given) but what I write is chiefly to draw from the world some compassion, my case being singular, as I hope the Memoires will make out. I take God to witness, I never had the least hint of the Rebellion, till being one night at Supper with my Lord of Kery, at his House in that County; his Lordship being a Privy-Counsellour, shewed me a Letter which he then received from the Justices, setting forth the attempt on the Castle of Dublin, and the Rebellion in the North, from whence sprung that unjustifiable War, in which I was unfortunately engaged: But on my repentance, pursued by

my

The Epistle to the Reader.

my actings to bring on the first Cessa-
tion, and the Peace of 1646. I had
many testimonies from the late King
of blessed memory, and his Lieute-
nant, the now Duke of Ormond,
that my faults were forgiven me.
Since I have always pursued my duty
in faithfully serving the King; and
after his death, his Majesty that now
reigns: for which, though most un-
worthy, I have received many marks
of his favours; and since his happy
Restauration, (for my better security)
hath given me his gracious Pardon;
by vertue of which, I have sat in the
Parliament of Ireland, as being a
Peer of that Kingdom.

The Appendix I promised, in short
representing the state of Ireland, is
grown into such a bulk, that it comes
out a Book by it self, so that in its
place

The Epistle to the Reader.

place by way of Appendix, I give you what I have seen, and that came within the compass of my knowledge of Wars abroad, I being of the Armies, though not present in every occasion ; Also some Observations on the whole.

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James Lord Audley Earl of Castlehaven
 HIS
 M E M O I R ' S .

S E C T . I .

The occasion and Motives of his engaging in those Wars. His being in Ireland, in his way to France, when the Rebellion brake out. His Service proffer'd to the Lords Justices, but rejected. His retirement to his Country-house, Indictment of Treason, and Commitment to Sheriff Woodcocks at Dublin. Sir John Read put to the Torture of the Rack. The memory of the Earl of Strafford's Death. The Kings answer at York to Colonel Mervin Tuchet. His escape out of Dublin, and flight to Kilkenny. The Model of Government, and Oath of Association.

WHAT induced me to write these Memoires, is to answer a wonder, that reasonably may be made: A how

how I being a Peer of *England*, and an *English-man* both by Birth and Descent on all sides, should engage my self amongst the *Irish* in their Wars: not speaking a word of their Language, and having little in their Kingdom. I say then, that I never designed it, but fell into those Troubles by chance, and much against my will. The Story thus. I was newly come from my Travels abroad: where my Genius leading me to see whatever was to be seen in Armies, I went of purpose to the Siege of *Turain* in *Italy*. After my return, I attended the King at *Berwick*, till the first Pacification with the *Scots*. And then, hearing that the *Prince Cardinal* Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands* was preparing to March towards the relief of *Arras* besieged at that time by the *French*: I pass'd over again to *Flanders* and *Artois*; and saw an end of that expedition, and *Arras* yielded to the Besiegers. In short, my Inclinations were to War, and so intended to make it my Trade, by putting my self

self into the Service of some Foreign Prince.

To this effect, having settled my Affairs in *England*, I made as I thought a step into *Ireland*, to do the like there. But it proved a longer stay. The occasion take out of the ensuing Letter to me from my Brother Colonel *Mervin Tuchet*.

Hearing your Lordship is writing a Narrative of your concerns in *Ireland* during the late War, & how you came to be engaged : I having been at that time with you, may possibly mind you of some Passages, more in my knowledge than yours. When the Rebellion broke forth in the North, you were in Mounster : and on the News, you immediately repaired to *Dublin*, to the Lords Justices, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Burlace* : where you acquainted them, with your willingness, to serve the King against the Rebels, as your Ancestors had formerly done in *Ireland*, on like occasions. To which they replyed, your Religion was an A 3 Obstacle.

Obstacle. There being then a Parliament in that Kingdom sitting, you were resolved to see the Event, sending me to your House at Madingstown, in the County of Kildare, to secure and defend it, in case there were any Rising in those parts. Upon my coming, I found many poor English stript : whom I took into the House and relieved, defending them in the best manner I could. Some time after, the Parliament being dissolved, you desired of the Justices a Pass to go for England. But they refusing, you acquainted them that your Estate there, was not in a condition to maintain you in Dublin ; and desired that you might be supplied with some mony, for your subsistence, until such time, that you could apply your self, to the Parliament in England for a Pass to bring you over ; which they denied. You prest them then to direct you, what course you should steer. To which they replied: Go home and make fair Weather. You took this Advice, and being come ; my Lord of Antrim and my Lady Dutches of Buckingham, soon followed ; and you were very well pleased with so good

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Company to spend your Provisions. But in a short time, the Irish came and drove away great part of your stock, to a village near. It being night, you desired me to take your Servants and endeavour the recovery. Which I did, bringing with me two or three of the chiefest Conductors of this Rabble. This enrag'd the Irish so much, as you conceiv'd I was not safe there: and therefore sent me to Dublin, to attend the Justices Orders, and assure them of your readiness to return on a Call, they sending a Convoy. Which they promis'd to do, as occasion required. When I went from you, you thought it necessary, that I should take with me, all the poor English that were saved; and to let them go with the Carts, which were loaden with Wool for Dublin; leaving only one of them, who was a Sadler, then my Lord of Antrim's servant. In the passage neer Rath-Cool, the Rebels fell upon them, and barbarously killed some, and wounded others: myself and one more escaping by the goodness of our Horses. But a Servant of mine governing the Carts, and

being an English-man, they took. And whilst they were preparing to hang him, Sir John Dungans Eldest Son, Watt Dungan came forth of his Fathers house with a Party, and rescued him with the rest of those that were left alive, and brought them safe to Dublin, where I was gotten. The Sadler that I had left in my Lord of Antrims Service, some time after met me, complaining, that coming for Dublin he had been taken by the Rebells, by means of a Boy that served your Lordship: and if I would not give him forty Shillings, being he was damnified (in so much) he would complain. I told him, that the Boy he mentioned was no Servant of yours; but kept out of Charity, and to whip the Dogs out of doors; being blind of an Eye, and lame of a Leg. He replied, that although he were blind and lame, he had a Note from my Lord of Antrim, to have him apprehended by those that were neither blind, nor lame, which he gave to them, who took him Prisoner, and carried him to the Garrison of Leixlipp, kept by the Rebels. I bad

him

Him do what he pleased : for I would not give him one Farthing.

The next I heard of it, was that he had complained ; and that your Lordship was Indicted of high Treason. Upon which I made my addresses to the Lords Justices again, to let them know, that they had not kept their Words with me, in suffering this Clandestine proceeding against my Brother ; but however, I would go and fetch you : and to that purpose desired them to let me have a party of Horse. But that they refused. I then came down to you with some of my Friends, and acquainted you with what had past. You answered, that you knew nothing of it, and went immediately with me to Dublin ; where you addressed your self to my Lord of Ormond, as I did my self in your behalf to the Lord Justices and Council, to acquaint them that you were come. They replied, that they could say nothing to it, till you appeared before them. Which you did the next day ; and then they Ordered you to come the day following. At which time without calling you in, they

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committed you to Mr. Woodcocks House,
 one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. Now I
 seeing this rigorous usage towards you,
 and being refused a Pass for my self to go
 for England, made a shift to get away in
 a small boat, and go directly to the King
 at York, and Petition him that you might
 be sent for over to be Tried here by your
 Peers. But his Majesties answer was, that
 he had left all the Affairs of Ireland to
 the Parliament. Upon which I went to
 London, and Petitioned the Parliament
 to the same effect. Their answer was, that
 they could do nothing without the King ;
 of which I gave you an account by Letter.
 This was the last Correspondence I had
 with you, being after that continually
 serving his Majesty in England. But
 the King coming from Newark to Oxford,
 he sent me with Dispatches to my Lord
 Lieutenant, and Ordered me to go to you,
 and use my endeavours to persuade you to
 hasten a Peace. You received the Com-
 mission as very agreeable, saying that
 from the beginning of the War you had
 always laboured for a Peace, and that you
 hoped

hoped it would soon be done. Before I returned, I saw it proclaimed: and it goes by the name of the Peace of 46.

London the 17th. of May. 1680.

Now that you have seen what my Brother writes of the occasion of my longer stay in *Ireland*, so much contrary to the design of my going thither: I will hence forth in my own Method go on with the Story of my own adventures in that Kingdom. But to this end I must once more place myself in *Maden-stown*; whether, as you see in my Brothers Letter, I was first retired by advice of the Lords Justices. I continued there some five or six Moneths after in peace and quietness; and, for the greatest part of the time, in so noble and excellent company as that of the Dutches of *Buckingham*, and the Lord Marques of *Antrim* her Husband, who did me that very great honour.

In the mean while Parties were sent out by the Justices from *Dublin*, and the

the Towns adjacent, to kill and destroy the Rebels, and the like was done through all parts of the Kingdom. But the Officers and Soldiers did not take care enough to distinguish between Rebels and Subjects ; but killed in many places promiscuously. On which partly, and partly on other provocations that preceeded, and some too that followed, the whole Nation, finding themselves concerned took to Arms for their own defence, and particularly the Lords of the Pale did so : who yet at the same time, desired the Justices to send their Petition to the King. Which was refused. And, for their farther discouragement , Sir *John Read*, his Majesties Sworn Servant (a stranger to the Country, un-engag'd, and an eye-witness of their proceedings, then upon his journey to *England*) prevailed with by them to carry their Remonstrance to his Majesty the late King of ever Blessed Memory, and to beg his pardon for what they had done, coming to *Dublin*, and not concealing his Message,

sage, was put to the Rack for his good will. The said Lords having Tried this, and other ways, to acquaint the King with their Grievances, and all failing, an open War broke forth generally throughout the Kingdom, and very unfortunately for me. One Encounter happened in the sight of my House, between my Lord of *Ormond* commanding the *English*, and my Lord *Richard* Vicount of *Mount-Garret* the *Irish*. The latter was defeated. This Encounter goes, by the name of the Battel of *Kill-Rush*, and was fought the 15th. of April. 1642.

My Lord of *Ormond* after this being to Pass with his Army just by my Door, some of his people being of my acquaintance came Galloping before, assuring that my Lord of *Ormond* would be with me in half an hour. On which, my Lady Dutches, and my self be-stirred our selves, and having two or three Cooks, a good Barns Door, and plenty of Wine, we patcht up a Dinner ready to be set on the Table at my Lords coming in.

But

But some that came with him, turned this another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and Publishing through the Army, that it was a mighty Feast for my Lord of *Mount-Garrett* and the Rebels ; and this through the *English Quarters* past for Currant. I believe it was much the Cause of that under-hand villainous proceeding against me, mentioned in my Brothers Letter. My Lady Dutchess and my Lord of *Antrim* soon left me going into their own Country in the North. For a while I Tided it out alone, till my Brother fetcht me to *Dublin*. You have seen by my Brothers Letter how I was Imprisoned, and no hopes of any relief from either the King, or Parliament sitting in *England*. So that after twenty Weeks that I had remained in Prison, I was ordered to be removed to the Castle of *Dublin*. Which Startled me, and brought to my thoughts the proceedings against the Earl of *Strafford*, who confiding in his Innocency lost his head.

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head. I concluded then, that Innocency was a scurvy Plea in an angry time. Besides I looked upon the Justices and most of the Council to be of the Parliaments persuasion. Wherefore I resolved to attempt an Escape, and save my self in the *Irish* Quarters. Which I did in this manner.

After the Battel of *Killruss* there was one *George Lidwidge* an *Irish*-man and Trooper left wounded in my house; who being recovered, in acknowledgment of Kindnesses received, often visited me in Prison. I found so much Fidelity in the man towards me, that I trusted him with my design; desiring his assistance: which he promis'd. I then, giving him Mony, ordered him to buy me three Horses for my self and two Servants, with Saddles and Pistols: which he did. And the next night just as the Maid was to shut the Door, it being dark, I slipt into the Street: leaving my two men in the house, and appointing them where they should find me in the Morning. About Nine of the Clock they came out of the house, bid-

bidding the Maid make no noise, pretending that I was not well, and had not rested that Night. They coming to me, the Guards of the Town withdrawn, and the Pattroles come in, were sent before with the Son of the Trooper to the place, where our Horses stood, to have them ready : the Trooper and my self soon following, but I as his Man carrying a Saddle under my Arm. To be short, we Mounted all on Horseback ; March'd as Troopers carelessly out of the Town ; and took our way by *Temple-Oage* towards the Mounitains of *Wicklow*. Where being come, I cared little for the Justices. But before Dinner my Escape was discovered by the people of the House ; and on Notice given to the Justices, I was pursued by a Party of Horse taking their way to my house at *Madingstown*. In the Night they invested it : but not finding me, after having possest themselves of what I had within, and without, they killed many of my Servants, and Burnt the House. I kept on my way

way towards *Kilkenny*, as much through the Fast Country as I could, till I arrived.

Where I found the Town very full, and many of my acquaintance: all preparing for their Natural defence; seeing no distinction made; or safety, but in Arms. To this end they had chosen amongst themselves, out of the most eminent Persons a Council, and gave it the Title of the *Supream Council of the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland*: and formed an Oath of *Association* by which all were bound to obey them. They had made Four Generals of the Four Provinces: *Preston of Leinster, Barry of Mounster, Owen-roe O Neal of Ulster*, and one *Burk of Conaught*: and being to give Commissions they caused a Seal to be made, which was the Seal of the Council. I was sent for to this Council to tell my Story, which I did. And then being askt, what I intended to do: I answer'd, To get into *France*, and so to *England*. Upon which they told me their condition, and what they were doing for their preservation; persuading

me to stay with them, being I was beloved in the Country, had three Sisters Married amongst them, was persecuted on the same score they were, and ruined so, that we had no more to lose but our Lives. I took two or three days to think of this Proposition; examining the *Model of Government*, they had prepared against the meeting of the General Assembly, and most particularly their *Oath of Association*. Which Oath I judged to be very reasonable, as the Case stood, it being as here followeth.

The Oath of Association.

IA, B. Do Profess, Swear and Protest, before God, and his Saints, and his Angels, that I will, during my life, bear true Faith and Allegiance to my Sovereign Lord Charles by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, and to his Heirs and Lawful Successors: and that I will to my power, during my life, defend, uphold, and maintain,

tain, all his Estates and viledge of the Funda free Exercise, Faith, and Land, and Possessions, those that he Oath, and I and that I Orders and by the Sup federate C concerning that I will any Pardon or to be done without the the said C rectly or in that shall p will to the Assist, P same.

Moreover

tain, all his and their just Prerogatives, Estates and Rights, the Power and Priviledge of the Parliament of this Realm, the Fundamental Laws of Ireland, the free Exercise of the Roman-Catholick Faith, and Religion, throughout this Land, and the Lives, Just Liberties, Possessions, Estates, and Rights of all those that have taken, or shall take this Oath, and perform the Contents thereof: and that I will obey and ratifie, all the Orders and Decrees made, and to be made, by the Supream Council, of the Confederate Catholicks of this Kingdom, concerning the said Publick Cause: and that I will not seek directly or indirectly, any Pardon or Protection, for any Act done, or to be done touching this general Cause, without the Consent of the Major part of the said Council: and that I will not directly or indirectly do any Act or Acts, that shall prejudice the said Cause; but will to the hazard of my Life, and Estate, Assist, Prosecute, and Maintain the same.

Moreover I do farther Swear, that

I will not accept of, or submit unto, any Peace, made or to be made, with the said Confederate Catholicks, without the consent and approbation of the General Assembly of the said Confederate Catholicks. And, for the preservation and strengthening of the Association, and union of the Kingdom, that upon any Peace, or accomodation to be made, or concluded with the said Confederate Catholicks, as aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my Power insist upon and maintain, the ensuing Propositions, until a Peace as aforesaid be made, and the matters to be agreed upon, in the Articles of Peace, be Established and secured by Parliament.

So help me God, and his holy Gospel.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

He takes the Oath, and Employment.

Chief heads of the Model of Government. Burras, Fore-Faukland, Byrrh, and Ballinikille yield to Preston: who not long after was twice defeated. Castlehaven begins his Command with an action of Charity. And then he forces Crawford from the Siege of Balli-Brittias: takes Ballinunry, Clogrenen, and Ballilenan; and with-all defeats the succour.

ON the whole matter I returned to this Council, thank'd them for their good Opinion of me, and engaged my self to run a Fortune with them. Whether Anger and Revenge did not incline me to it as much as any other consideration, I cannot resolve. This I well remember, that I consider'd how I had been used, and seen my house burning as I pass'd by: besides, that I

was a light man, with no Charge, and not any hopes of redress from the King, who was then engaged in an Intestine War. Now being thus a Confederate, and having taken the *Oath*, they made me one of the Council, and General of the Horse under *Preston*.

The *Assembly* met the 24. of Oct. 1642. It differ'd nothing from a Parliament, other then that the Lords and Commons sat together, and not in two Houses. This you see was a force put upon us; and we hoped in time, the storm being pass'd, to return to our old Government under the King. We had many learned in the Law amongst us, whom we encouraged to keep us, as near the old Government as might be, holding to the Ancient Laws of the Land.

That *Assembly* without delay approved all the Council had done, and settled a *Model of Government*. viz. that at the end of every *General Assembly*, the *Supream Council* should be confirmed or changed as they thought fit. That it should consist of 25. six out of each Province, three

of the six still resident. The 25th was my self with no Relation to any Province, but to the Kingdom in general. Every Province had a *Provincial Assembly*, which met on Occasions: and each County had Commissioners for Appointing money within themselves, as it came to their shares on the general Appointmet of the Province. Many other things there were, as to Government. If a Letter came to them written in *Irish*, it would be wonder'd at; and hardly could one be found to read it. We were not in case to bring to Justice those that begun the Rebellion. But I never saw any of them esteemed or advanced. The *General Assembly* being put off, the Generals fell to their work: and my General took in *Burras*, *Fort-Faukland*, and *Birrh* in the Kings County, where I was with him.

And I had the good Fortune to begin my first commanding in the Wars with an Action of Charity. For going to see this Garrison of *Birrh* before it marcht out, I came into a great room, where

many people of Quality were both men and women. They with many Tears so soon as they saw me, fell on their Knees, desiring me to save their lives. I was astonished at their posture and Petition : and, desiring them to rise, ask'd what the matter was ? They answered, that from the first day of the Wars, there had been continual action and much blood shed between them and their *Irish* Neighbours, and little Quarter on either side. And that therefore understanding that I was an *English* man, some knowing me, they desired that I would take them into my Protection. I doubted that there was too much reason for their fears, considering they were to March two or three days, through the Woods of *Iregan* and waste Countreys, before they came to *Athy* their next friends Garrison. I went immediately to the General, and desired that I might command their Convoy : which he granted. Then culling out two hundred Horse and three hundred Foot, in whom I had most Confidence,

fidence, I March'd and delivered them with their Baggage safe. They were at least eight hundred Men, Women and Children. I was with this General the 18th. of *March* 42. when he was beaten at *Ross* by the Marquess of *Ormond*; and by Colonel *Monk*, since Duke of *Albermarle*, at *Timochoe in the Queens County* the 5th. of *Octob.* 42. Yet afterwards he besieging *Ballynekill* in the same County, I ventured once more with him. Where he having Intelligence that Major General *Crawford* was besieging *Ballybritas*, a Castle belonging to the Vicount *Clanmaleer*, he sent me with a Party of fifteen hundred Horse and Foot, to endeavour the succouring of that place : which I did. *Crawford* drawing off, in passing the River of the *Barrow* in a skirmish had his Thigh broken with a Musquett-shot. I returned as *Ballynekill* was rendred ; and conveyed that Garrison too, as I had done the other of *Byrrh*.

After this I remained at *Kilkenny* with the *Supream Council* ; and *Preston* went

went into the lower parts of the Province with the Army. Of whose absence the Enemies Garrisons in the County of *Catherloe*, and *Queens County* taking advantage, Alarm'd the County of *Kilkenny* even to the Gates of the City. I was then by the Council commanded to go against them, And therefore having gotten together about 2000 men with some Cannon, I Marched to *Ballenunry* in the County of *Catherloe*, and took it, as also *Clogrennan*. Where the County of *Wexford* Regiment Mutined ; but were reduced, and some examples made, served well for the future. I Marched thence into the Queens County, and Besieged *Ballilennan* Commanded by the *Grimes's* a Valiant People, with a strong Garrison. But a great breach being made, their Succour came by the way of *Athy*. I was not well at this Alarme, but laid upon my Bed in my Tent. However I made no great matter of it, knowing the Succour could not be considerable. But my Old Lord *Richard* Vicount of

Mount-

Mountgarret being abroad, sent me advice that they were coming on in great hast, and stronger than I thought, both in Horse, and Foot, and were then near the end of the *Tougher*: which is a great way cut through a Bog, and I believe in length at least half a Mile. Now I had a great Guard of Horse and Foot at my end of the *Tougher*, with a Line thrown up before them. So I judged the danger not great. However I got on Horse-back, taking with me 400 Horse: and coming to my Guard, I saw some of the Enemy on the *Tougher* in their March. Whereupon I bad my Horse and Guards follow me, and March towards them; thinking to have fought them upon the *Tougher*. But they retired, and formed on a plain two Musquet-shot off. I having pass'd the *Tougher*, prepared to Charge. But they Drew off again, and did not stand me till they had gotten through a Gap in a Ditch with water to the Belly. Being past they lined the Ditch with Musqueteers, drawing up their Horse and

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and Foot close by to defend this Gap. Sir *Walter Butler* with his Squadron, begun the Fight ; but being Wounded in the Ditch with a Pike through his Thigh, his men fell off ; and a second Squadron Charged and did the like. But the Enemy seeing more Squadrons coming on, in the smoke took their advantage to run away : which we could not see, till the smoke was over. Then we followed, and could not Engage them till they recovered *Athy*, which was near. I guessed them to be about three hundred Horse, and seven or eight hundred Foot. Their Succour thus beaten in their view, the besieged Garrison yielded on condition to March out with their Arms. The small Garrisons in those Parts made no resistance. I was much favoured in these my first undertakings, by having been in my youth a great Hunter in those parts of Deer, Wolves, and Foxes. So that there was no passage in Bog or Mountain, or Ford in a River that I did not know. This little beginning gave me

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some Reputation and as near as I could what I wanted in experience was supplied by diligence and good Intelligence.

S E C T. III.

He Defeats Sir Charles Vavasor in Mounster. By occasion of a Trumpet sent from Ormond he moves the Council for Peace. Commanded with three thousand men against Monk, he takes Dullarstown, Tully, Laccach, and many other Castles in the County of Kildare, and in Leix. Submits to the Cessation.

MY Lord of Inchiquin was all this while Master of the Field in *Mounster*; having won some Battels, beaten the *Irish* in all parts, and in a manner subdued that Province, four or five Towns excepted. And with these he was going now to work, beginning with *Kilmallock* in the County of *Limerick*,

brick, and sitting down before it with an Army of seven Thousand men. This Alarmed the *General Assembly* then sitting at *Kilkenny* : but most particularly those of that Province. Whereupon, after many Consults among themselves, they concluded at last to ask succour of the *General Assembly* ; though they saw but little hopes of any in that exigency : for *Preston* was far off with the Army. Wherefore opening themselves more clearly, than perhaps they would have otherwise done, they layed claim to me, as having my Earldom and Estate in their Province, though I was an Officer of *Leimster*. Alleadging farther that their General was old and Unfortunate : and that if I had the Command all would joyn in the defence of their Country, and take new Courage. I was present at this proposition ; and, though I had ambition and vanity enough, did heartily oppose it, having no prospect of any Success. But my Lord of *Muskry*, being my great friend, and of that Province, desired the *Assembly* to command

mand me by vertue of the Oath of *Association*. Which they did ; and then there could be no more reply. It being thus ordered : and, which was pursuant to it, that my Commission under the Great Seal of the Confederates to Command in Chief for that expedition, should be immediately dispatched : I was ask'd, what Troops were near at hand ? I answered, that I knew of none, but of my own Life-Guard of Horse. 'Tis true I had observed many stragling Horse in the Town ; but they would not be brought together without Mony. Some Money was then given out, and by Ten of the Clock next morning I had gotten together Eighty Horse, and put them under the Command of *Garrett Talbot* Brother to Sir *Robert Talbot*. These with my Life-Guard Commanded by Captain *Fits Gerald*, commonly called *Garrat Garrah*, made in all one hundred and twenty Horse. With these I March'd, accompanied with my Lord of *Muskry*, since made Earl of *Clancarty*, and some others of the Province. On the Fron-

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tier of it I met about a huudred and twenty Horse more, most Gentlemen, and formed into a Squadron. But at *Carthel* I was received by the General of the Province *Barry*, the Lieutenant-General *Purcel*, and some other Officers with seven hundred Foot.

That night I had Intelligence, that the Lord of *Inchiquin* had raised his Siege, and March'd with four or five Thousand men into the County of *Kerry*. But had sent Sir *Charles Vavasor* with sixteen or seventeen hundred men, to take in *Cloblea*, a Castle then belonging to the *Condons*. I Marched immediately towards him, and before night Encamped within three Miles of him ; the Mountain only between us. My Brother *Richard Butler*, Brother to the Duke of *Ormond*, was sent out the same night to discover the Enemy. In the Morning word was brought that the Castle was taken, and the Garrison after Quarter given put to the Sword, and my Brother Engaged. I lost no time, but March'd in all hast with my Horse to his

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his Succour : which joyned with his, made up two hundred and forty, or two hundred and fifty at the most. The Foot marched also. But the old General came on so slowly that I had defeated the Enemy before he came within two Miles.

The manner thus. Sir *Charles Vavasor*, though he had taken the Castle, remained still in his Camp, till seeing me on the Top of the Mountain above him, come to succour mine that were skirmishing, he drew to Arms ; but being amongst Hedges and Ditches, and the Castle between us, I could not come at him, till he marched towards *Castle Lions* : where in a large plain he formed. But I, going by the advantage of a great valley, came into the plain unseen, almost as soon as he. And, having ordered three or four Squadrons of Boys on Horse-back to possess the ground from whence I came, I lost no time in the Charge that Defeated his Horse; who to save themselves broke in on the Foot. Their Cannons were useless, being past

the Black-water. This, with Gods blessing, and a great shower of rain, gave me the victory with little or no loss. Sir *Charles* that Commanded, with several other Officers remained Prisoners; their Cannon and Baggage taken; all their Foot defeated; but their Horse for the most part escaped. This happened on a Sunday, the 4th of June 1643. about twelve a Clock at Noon.

Now having left the best advice I could for the improving this advantage, I took leave of the General with others of the Province: and returning to *Kilkenny* gave the Assembly an account of what had passed, in order to their Commands.

Soon after, the *Assembly* being broke up, and a *Supream Council* chosen to Govern in their absence, I retired to *Kilkash* my Brother *Butlers* house to rest my self. The *Council* went to *Ross*: and whilst they were there, a Trumpet brought them a Letter from the Marquess of *Ormond*, setting forth his

his being appointed by the King to hear our grievances, and to Treat for an accommodation. The particulars of the Letter I knew not ; but the Trumpet was quickly dispatched with some slight Answer. Which coming to my knowledge, I repaired to *Kilkenny*, whether the *Council* was returned. And on Information finding what I had heard to be true, I sent for Sir *Robert Talbot*, Sir *Richard Barnwel*, Colonel *Walter Bagnal*, and such others as were in the Town being well affected and leading men of the *Assembly*, though not of the *Council*. Now being in my Lodging, I acquainted them with what understood: and, that if they would stick to me, I would endeavour to give it a turn. We all agreed on the way: which was, To go to the Council then sitting, take notice of the Kings Offer, and their Return, and to mind them, that the Consideration, and resolutions concerning Peace and War, the *General Assembly*, reserved to themselves only : and therefore to require that they would

send immediately a Trumpet of their own, with a Letter to the Marquess of *Ormond*, giving him to understand, they had Issued Summons for a *General Assembly*, in order to acknowledge the Kings gracious favour in naming him his Commissioner to hear our Aggrievances and redress them. This we put in execution, and gained our point without much resistance.

The Marquess of *Ormond* being thus brought into a Treaty, the Confederate Commissioners met at *Seginstown* near the *Nasse* as his Excellency had appointed, in order to a Cessation of Arms. At which time all Parties laboured to get into Possession of what they could. Colonel *Monk* after made Duke of *Albermarle* March'd into the County of *Wicklow* to take in the Harvest, and Possess some Castles. I being then Commanded by the Council to go against him, and having Rendevouz'd my Troops consisting of about three Thousand Horse and Foot, at *Ballynekil* in the County of *Caterloe*, Notice was brought

brought me that Colonel *Monk* was March'd away in all hast, to the Assistance of the Lord *Moor*, then facing *Owen-Roe Oneal* near *Portlester*. I finding my self now to have nothing to do, thought it worth the while to endeavour taking in *Dulerstown*, *Tully*, *Lacagh*, and all other Castles in the County of *Kildare*, between the Rivers of the *Barrow* and *Liffe*. Which I did, leaving Garrisons in them. This done I repast the *Barrow* at *Minster-Evin*, March'd into *Leix*, and took threee or four small places. But as I was going on, had advice from the Commissioners at *Seginstown*, that they had on the 15th Septemb. 1643 concluded a Cessation of Arms with the Marquess of *Ormond*. To which I submitted.

S E C T. IV.

Scots of Ulster obey not the Cessation.

Owen O Neal in the Assembly at Waterford. Castlehaven chosen General of the Northern expedition (which should have consisted of 11000) against Monro's Army of 17000. His apprehensions thereupon. Before this Campagn open'd, he is sent to reduce Castle-Carroe and Castlebar in Connaught; and does so. Rendezvous at Granard. Scots design to surprize him there, frustrated: and so his to surprize them at Toinregaoh. Horse fight here. He Camps at Charlemont, and Monro hard by at Ardmagh; neither able to force the other. Owen O Neal performs nothing promis'd. Stratagem; safe Retreat, and putting the Army (consisting of above 8000) into Winter-Quarters.

But General Monro sometime before being arrived in Ulster, from Scot-

Scotland with ten Thousand new *Scots*: and having Sir *Robert Steward* joyned to him with five or six Thousand of the old *Scots* Natives of that Province; as also some *English* under the Command of Sir *Audley Mervin*, Sir *Theophilus Jones* and others; would not submit to this Cessation. They forced General *O Neal*, to so great straits, having sometime before Defeated him, in the Encounter where *Con-O Neal* was killed with many others, that in the beginning of Winter, leaving his Troops & Creiaghts to shift the best they could, he came to the *General Assembly*, held at *Waterford*. Where he set forth the lamentable Condition of his people, desiring the Assistance of the other three Provinces: and in the name of his Province, undertaking to joyn to their Forces four Thousand Foot and four hundred Horse: but withal declaring, that otherwise he with his Forces and Creiaghts should be obliged to save themselves in the other Provinces: and so get subsistance as well as they could. This last point

of *Owen O Neals* Speech , besides their persuasion that the *Scots* would not fail soon to follow him and visit them , made the *Assembly* come to a quick Conclusion , and agree to send six Thousand Foot and six hundred Horse out of the other three Provinces . So that the Army was to consist of ten Thousand Foot and one Thousand Horse . But it coming to the Question who should be General of this Army , they went to the Election after this manner . The *Assembly* sitting , those they thought fit to come in competition , they caused their names , one under another , to be written down , and from each a long Line drawn . Then at the Table where the Clerk sate , every Member of the *General Assembly* , one after another with a Pen puts a Dash , on the Line of him that he would have to be General . And to the end that none should mark more than once , four or five were Chosen out of the *Assembly* , two of which were Bishops , to overlook this marking , being on their

Oath

Oath. Now, contrary to *Owen O Neals* exspectation, who had designed this Generalship for himself by which he would be *Generalissimo*, I was chosen. Which he took extremely much to heart; as I have reason to believe. However he carryed it fairly; and came to Congratulate me; giving withal great Assurances of his performance and readiness to serve me. Next day a Commission was sent me, with orders to prepare all things for this expedition; which I did. But the farther I look'd into the matter, the worse I liked it. For I considered that I was now to make War in a Country where I had never been: and in a Country too where we had not so much as one Town; but the Enemy had many.

That by all Intelligence they could draw into the Field sixteen or seventeen Thousand men. That if *Owen O Neal* should perform, and deal fairly with me: yet all I was to expect did not exceed ten Thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse. That having no Towns in

in the Province, we should be forced to bring all our Provisions from the other Provinces where I had my Magazines. That I must depend upon *O Neal* for Intelligence. For by such lights I always Guided my self in my former small undertakings. But that which most of all troubled me, was that I did not see how I could avoid a Battel, if the Enemy had a mind to it: being I was to make an Offensive War. I had also this other consideration to discourage me, That although our Parties had commonly the better; yet our Armies had commonly the worst. This was experimented in several Battels. And the reason was clear and obvious. Most of all the great Towns in the Kingdom were the Enemies and Garifoned; and of the few Towns we had, there was but one, to wit *Kilkenny*, that would receive a Garison. So that at our coming out of every Field as the Enemy returned into their Garisons, where they were with their Officers and kept in Discipline; ours were dispersed all the

the Kingdom over, into little Villages and odd houses ; never seeing an Officer till the next Campagne. And therefore they came to their Rendezvous in the beginning of every field like new men half changed ; and for the Horse, so haggled out in riding up and down to see their friends, that they seem'd hardly able to draw their Legs after them ; and both Horse and Foot with rusty Arms and not fixt. But how plainly soever I saw my ill condition, I must through as well as I could ; yet withal resolving to avoid a Battel by all means, and seek to make my War by Parties, and Surprises, where new men are as good as old. Now having more then time before the Campagne, I was commanded by the *Supream Council* to March into *Connaught* to reduce some of our own Party, which had set up for themselves in the County of *Mayoe*, and had possessed *Castle Carroe*, and *Castle Barre* ; the former Commanded by one *Burk* ; the latter by the Lord of *Mayoe*. I took with me two Thousand men

men, and past the *Shanon* at *Fort-fauk-land*; the Marques of *Clanrichard* permitting me to pass through his Country. These Castles made little resistance. After they had yielded, I sent my Party, under the Command of Sir *James Dillon*, into the County of *Roscommon*, to reduce the *Armsbyes* and some others that held Garisons and would not submit to the Cessation. When he had done his work, which he was not long about, he return'd into *Leinster*, and lodg'd the Troops as he was ordered.

In the mean while, I had gone to *Kilkenny*, and set my self to the great Work; still having some mistrust of *Owen O Neal*'s performance. Wherefore I desired the Council, to grant me four hundred Horse and Dragoons more, in case I could raise them without Charge: which I did.

The first Rendevous that I made in order to this Field, was 1644 about Midsummer, in the County of *Longford*, at a place called *Granard* where I had appointed three Thousand Horse and

and Foot with two or three Field-pieces : intending there to have expected the coming up of the whole Army, which might be four or five days ; for *O Neal* was neer Encamped at *Portlester*, and the rest were Marching as ordered. By my spies, that met me at this Rendevous, and came in hast, all agreed that they had left the Enemy near a certain Mountain threescore Miles of ; that they were seventeen Thousand strong, with one and twenty days Provision in Oaten Meal, which they carried on their own, and little Horses backs ; no Cannon or other Baggage ; and were ready to March. I thought my self pretty secure for that Night ; but at twelve of the Clock, one from *Cavan* assured me that he had left the whole Army there : and that their Horse and Dragoons would be with me in the morning. On this advice, I packt off as fast as I could, and gain'd *Port-Lester*, ordering the rest of the Army to come thither : and at the instant Commanded a Colonel with five or six hundred Foot

Foot and a hundred Horse to defend the Bridge of *Fienagh*. It was of stone, and a Castle on our End. I sent with him Shovels, Pickaxes, and Spades, with plenty of Ammunition. The Enemy, according to my Intelligence, came at Sun-rising into the Camp I had left, and shewed themselves the next day before that Bridge. My unfortunate Colonel, sent over his Horse to Skirmish; and when they were far enough out, on a sudden the Enemy mingled with them. Which was the cause that our Foot could do nothing; but through fear to kill their own, left Bridge, Castle, and all free for the Enemy. However this availed them little. For finding me well Posted, though *O Neal* was of another opinion, their Provisions shrunk, and being at least twelve days March from their own Country, they staid not to give me farther trouble, but hastened homewards.

Now then I was at leisure to call on General *O Neal* for his four Thousand Foot and four hundred Horse; being

ing resolved to follow the Enemy, and try my Fortune in *Ulster*, as I was designed to do. He excused himself by Reason of the continual Alarms in his Countrey, that he could not at present make good his Word ; but withal assuring me again, that so soon as I came into the Province I should have no reason to complain. Having this assurance, I March'd on with my six Thousand Foot and a Thousand Horse and Dragoons : and *O Neal* joyned to me about two hundred Horse and three or four hundred Foot ; his Creiaghts Marching with us, being all the *Irish* with their Cattle of that Province. When he had drawn me on as far as *Toinregoah*, I had intelligence that the Enemy had revictualled themselves, and were returning to encounter me. Whereupon I prest *O Neal* very hard to make good his Word. Who plainly told me that he could not do it ; alledging that his people were all amongst the Creiaghts, and every one looking to save what he had. In this sad condition,

dition, I blamed my own Weakness in being persuaded with fair Promises, to come so far into an Enemies Country; however I was resolved to see the Enemy, then Encamped at *Drummore Jueagh*. And therefore taking such Guides as *O Neal* would give me, and leaving the Command of the Camp to him, in the evening I March'd with my Thousand Horse and Dragoons, and fifteen hundred Commanded Foot. These I left on a Pass about three Miles from my Camp, to make good my retreat; intending to fall with my Horse into their Horse-Quarter. But, whether Wittingly or Willingly in my Guides, it was Sun-rising when I came within two Miles of their Horse-Quarter. And yet still though I had lost my design, I would see the Enemy. And to this end, perceiving some of their Horse at Grass, I, being drawn under a Hill near a little River, where there was a Stone-bridge, sent a Party to take those Horses; which they did, and brought them to me. But their

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Guard of Horse being near; after my Horse were come back, seized the Bridge and defended it. I sent men to beat them off; but it would not do. Then I sent another Party; the same still. Whilst this was a disputing, I perceived a hundred Foot coming over a great plain. Then I Galloped down myself with some Officers, and more Horse. So passing the Bridge, I had the cutting off that hundred Foot, without resistance. A Party of mine pursued the Horse that ran from the Bridge; but before they overtook them they were met with another which routed them. And others of mine put them also to the run. Before this Fight ended, most of the Horse on both sides were Engaged. The Enemy at last drew off; and so did I to my Army.

Being returned to my Camp, I acquainted *O Neal* with what had past, and how the Enemies Army were advancing according to my intelligence. Whereupon he advised me to retire to *Charlemount*, a Fort where he had a

Garison. I followed his advice, and found it a very good Post, there being a large plain joyned to it, on the one side runs the black Water, and near the Fort a Bridge over it; the rest surrounded with Bogs and Moorish Ground. My Horse lay Encamped at *Benborb*, on the other side the River. At the same time that I came into this place, *Monro* with his Army arrived at *Armagh* about two or three Miles distant, and there Encamp'd fortifying himself. Thus neither of us being able to Engage the other, we lay in pretty good Correspondence: and the small War we had was chiefly in cutting off of Convoys. My Provisions came much harder to me than his to him: and *O Neal* began to be very weary of sometimes assisting me with Cows. So that after two Months, I resolved the endeavouring to gain my own Country: seeing no hopes of any forces from *O Neal*. Which to Effect, for I did not desire fighting, I caused a *Tougher* or great way to be cut through the Bog,
 near

near the Fort, leading to *Toinregaoh* by which their Provisions came. This way being finisht, I knowing their days took my time, to pass most of my Horse, and some Foot, shewing them beyond the *Tougher*, as if that night I intended straight for *Tainregaoh*. *Mon-ro* having this Intelligence posted away, a great Party of Horse and Foot to secure his Convoy. But the night being come I turned, and in stead of Marching towards *Tainregaoh*, past over the Bridge with the whole Army: leaving my Cannon and Baggage in the Fort, with a strong Garrison, plenty of Ammunition, and all the Provision I could possibly scrape to put in. That night I March'd, and all the next day, taking a great round before I could have my own Country on my back; which having obtained, in the County of *Cavan* I faced towards the Enemy, about five or six Miles from them. Which *Mon-ro* knowing, and finding that I lay easier for my Provisions then he did, raised his Camp and March'd to his own

Country. It being now late in the year ; I, thus free of him, sent a Party of Horse and Foot to bring off my Cannon, and what I left in the Fort ; and so March'd to *Fienaeigh*, where I met Commissioners from the *Supream Council* to receive the Army, and lodge them on the three Provinces, together with fifteen hundred *Ulster* men which on my Order came to me out of *Connought*, being of no Army but endea-vouring to live by strong hand ; which I could not admit. Thus ended the *Ulster* expedition, like to be so fatal to the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*, through the failing or something else of General *Owen Roe O Neal*. But after all, the three Provinces had no reason to complain of this Campagne. For this Army they sent, kept them from being troubled either with *Scots*, or *Ulster* People, that year.

S E C T. V.

Views the Siege of Duncannon, how laid, and that strong place taken by General Preston. Is sent with an Army to Mounster against Inchiquin, of late declared for the Parliament. Dean Boyle's message. Capper-Quin and Michaelstown taken. Skirmish of Horse near the Black-water. Mallow, Donerail and Liscarrol yield. Miltown and Conycastle taken by a storm of 3000 Garsoons, meer servant Boys that belong'd to the Army. A Flood hinders the relieving of Ballimartir. Yet he surprizes Rostellan and several Officers in it: and then forces Castle-Lions and Lismore to Surrender. Marches straight to Cork. Blind scuffle there by night. Returns to Tallow, and thence goes to Youghal. In that way all the little Castles submit. An unexpected mutinous Accident at one of them. What done

at Youghal. *The Snow falling, he retires to Capper-Quin, and so ends this Campagne.*

Having thus left the Army with Commissioners, on Muster, more than eight Thousand strong, (for I had been recruited with several Companies) I took my way to *Kilkenny*, ill pleased that the Treaty of Peace train'd so long: and designed not to stir from the Council till I saw it concluded. But coming there, I found the *Supream Council* in great Consternation. For *Duncannon* that Commanded the harbour of *Waterford*, was declared for the Parliament: as also my Lord of *Inchiquin* Commanding in *Mounster*, who before, had not only submitted to the Cessation, but carried with him a considerable number of his Troops into *England* to serve the King. Now taking there some disgust, as 'tis said, because the *Presidency of Mounster* was given to the Earl of *Portland*, he returns, and declares for the Parliament, Commanding

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ing by their Commission as *President of Mounster*. Those of *Waterford* now pressed the taking in of *Duncannon*: making great offers to the Council of large assistance. *Preston* is named for this work, and sent with three or four Thousand men, Miners, and a good Train of Artillery; it being within his Province. And I having the curiosity to see it, left the Council, and followed him. I will relate the particulars of this Siege, because the only in form that I saw in *Ireland*. He made not any line of Circumvallation, fearing no succour that could come on the Land-side: but began his approaches with two Attacks: and being come near the place, joyned them with a line of Communication: and then ran them on divided to the two ends of the Curtain. Those within made a good defence, and lost nothing in six weeks, only the Besiegers had made a lodging in the Ditch. At this time two or three Parliament Frigats arriv'd, with succour of Men, Ammunition, and Provisions; coming

to Anchor within less then Cannon-shot of the Fort. But before they could man out their Boats ; so horrible a Storm arose, that in eight or ten days none could come on shore. Whereupon those within, being in despair, and press'd with some essential want , yielded.

All this while my Lord of *Inchiquin* over-ran *Mounster*, and coming to *Ca-
shel*, the people retired to the Rock, where the Cathedral Church stands , and thought to defend it. But 'twas carried by Storm, the Souldiers giving no Quarter. So that within and without the Church , there was a great Massacre, and amongst others more than twenty Priests and Religious men kill'd.

Towards the Spring the Council ordered me to go against him ; and to begin the Field as early as I could. The Enemy in this Province had always been victorious, beating the Confederates in every Place; never having received Check , but in the mentioned

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Encounter at *Cloghleah*. So that every Gentlemans House, or Castle was Garrisoned, and kept the Country in awe. To begin this Field then, I made my first rendevous at *Clonmel*, and the Army Encamped near it. Thither Dean *Boyl*, now Lord *Chancellor of Ireland*, and then Married to my Lord of *Inchiquins* Sister came, and there he found me. His business was to persuade me, to spare *Donerail*, and other Houses, and Castles, not Tenable. I answered, that I desired it, as much as he; though hitherto they had annoyed the Country equally, as if they had been strong. I told him in short, I had order to take all I could: and such as I thought not fit to Garrison, to destroy. Yet, if he pleased to cause the Garrisons to be drawn out, and by Letters from the Owners, to put them into my hands, I would appoint some few men into them, with Commanders in whom I most confided, and make it my Business to preserve them, by interceding to the Council. The Dean and I parted very

very good Friends. But whether he could or no, prevail with my Lord of *Inchiquin* or the Owners, I know not. I am sure, I heard no more from him.

Soon after, that is, about the 5. of *Ap.* 1645. I Marched towards *Capper-Quin*, my Army consisting of about five Thousand Foot, a Thousand Horse, and twelve Brass pieces of Cannon, some of twenty four, and others of eighteen pound Bullet. Viewing the place, I soon perceived where they mistook that Besieged it formerly, and after much time spent with great loss of men, were enforced to quit it. There being a Town and a Castle that Commanded it, they Attack'd the Town; and I, on the contrary, the Castle; which yielded, the Town could not resist. *Drommane* fell likewise into my hands. Whilst I was ordering these places, I wrote a Letter to the Commander of *Lismore*, a house of my Lord of *Corks*, I think one Major *Poor*. I endeavoured to persuade him to put that place

place into my hands, that it might be preserved: for let the Garison be what he pleased; it could not resist. I gave him many reasons why I desired the preservation of that place, as if it were my own. But he answered that his Honour was above all: that he would hold out to the last: and doubted not of timely Succour. So I left Mr. *Poor*, and Marched to *Michaelstown*; which after some shot of Cannon, was rendered. Then, having Intelligence that six or seven hundred Horse were come over the *Black-water*, Marching towards me, and at that time Drawn up, on a Hill in the great plains of *Roches Country*: I March'd the Army towards them, not knowing whether my Lord of *Inchiquin* might not be near with his Army. But these Horse, when we were well in sight, retired. Whereupon Lieutenant General *Purcel* (with several other Officers and Gentlemen of the Country) who had been viewing them at near hand, came Galloping to me, and saying that the Enemy were running

running away, prest me earnestly to let him have my Horse, for they had them so sure that they could not escape. I making difficulty, they said it was, because I knew not the Country. But I saw so much that yielding to their desire I should be left expos'd in a great Champion Country, with an Army of Foot and Cannon, without Horse. Yet after all (which I count certainly among other my Follies) I suffered myself to be persuaded : they March'd away in great hast : I followed slowly ; and coming to the *Black-water*, near the Ford of *Fermoy*, drew my Foot and Cannon into an old *Danes Work*; *Ireland* being full of them. Having staid there pretty long, and hearing no News of my Horse, I began to be uneasie. But rememb'ring that I had a Guard of Horse on some Beeves, that were for the Provision of the Army, I sent for them. And at the same time, unexpected, came *Garrot Garrow* with my old Life-Guard of Horse to me out of *Leinster*. These and those making in all

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all a hundred, I presently took with me, to see what became of the Troops sent with *Purcel*. But first I ordered fifteen hundred Foot to stand in a readiness. Then finding by the Track, that my Horse had passed the Ford, and taken their way towards *Castle-Lions*: I followed. Being come near the Top of the Hill above the Ford, I left these few Horse I had with me drawn up; and with some Officers went my self to the height to discover. Thence I saw all the Enemy formed in a great plain, with a shrub wood before them: and my Horse in hast, Marching through to Charge, having with them a hundred Commanded Foot. But the Enemy seeing the Squadrons broken, as they came on the plain, gave them no time, but Charged and Defeated them. On sight of this disorder, and the Enemy pursuing, when they came near me, I advanced, Crying out to my own men, that they should Rally behind me. The Enemy, seeing these Fresh Horse, and not knowing but the Army

my might be near, pursued no farther, but drew up. The fifteen hundred Commanded Foot that I had sent for, soon came to me. On sight of which the Enemy retiring to *Castle Lions*, I followed; but could not engage them, it beginning to be dark. Hence I March'd to *Malloe* and took it, but with some shot of Cannon, and left a Garrison in it. *Donerail* and *Liscarrel* made no resistance. But *Miltown*, a better place and a good Garrison, stood out. So that I thought it would cost some trouble. But whilst the Batteries were preparing, 2 or 3000 Boys belonging to the Army that use to form themselves into Battalions, having gotten Crows of Iron, Pickaxes, and other Instruments, a little before Sun-set fell on the place, intending as I think, only to have taken the Cows and Sheep within a Court, which was walled. But Success carried them farther, and they took the Castle by strong hand. So all that side of the *Black-water* being cleared, I sent the Army for some days into Quarters of refresh-

refreshment: & I went my self to *Kilmallock*, and other places where my Magazines were. In the mean time my Lord of *Inchiquin*, having taken *Rosstellan*, besieged *Ballymarter*, a Castle belonging to his Unkle, *Edmund Fitz Gerald Senescal of Imokelle*. My Army being come together, I March'd to succour it. But there being a Flood in the *Blackwater*, I was hindred for two days. So that when I came in sight of the place, I found it taken, and burning, and the Enemy retreating, some to *Cork*, others to *Toughal*.

Having thus lost my design of Succouring the place, and that, which I wisht most, Engaging the Enemy: I staid Encamped near this burnt Castle two or three days: thinking what to do. At length I got intelligence, that Colonel *Henry Obryan* Brother to the Lord of *Inchiquin*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Courtney*, with several other Officers, were come by Boat to *Rastellan* to make merry: and that, the Tide fallen, their Boats were a ground, and so would continue

tinue till High-Water. On the certainty of this I lost no time, but sent immediately a Party to seise the Boats, lying more than Musquet-shot from the Castle; following as fast as I could with the Army: which being come up, I presently fell to the work, planting my Guns: the Batteries made by my Lord of *Inchiquin* not being destroyed. In the morning the places yielded on discretion. Hence I March'd to *Castle Lions*: which after some battering yielded. I took my March then towards *Lismore*. But *Cony-Castle* lying on a Pass in my way, and sending, on Summons, a defiance, I Encamped before it: thinking to plant my Guns that Night. But the Boys eased me of the Trouble, and took it before it was dark by Storm, as they did the former. I wrote again to the Governour of *Lismore*, to put that place into my hands, that I might turn the Army another way; having as much kindness for the owner as he could have. But, not prevailing, I invested it. And, having ordered the Batteries, left Lieutenant

tenant Gene and trie if he with that pla had had, wh rode to Kilk present at t where I ha many Civili five or six da yielded, an out. After at Tallow, that Colone was gone fro Limbrick w and some Foo with all my Foot, straigh I left the Fo treat. Abo arrived nea self on the Mac Willi gently Ma Enemy. T resistance: b

tenant General *Purcel* to Command, and trie if he could have better Success with that place now, than formerly he had had, when he Besieged it; and so rode to *Kilkenny*, as not willing to be present at the destruction of a House, where I had formerly received very many Civilities. At my return, being five or six days after, I found the place yielded, and the Garison Marching out. After which, being Encamped at *Tallow*, Intelligence was brought that Colonel *Mac William Ridgeway*, was gone from *Cork* into the County of *Limbrick* with a great Party of Horse and some Foot. I Marched immediately with all my Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, straight for *Cork*. Coming near, I left the Foot to make good my Retreat. About an hour in the night I arrived near the Gates; and put my self on the way to *Malloe*; by which *Mac William* was to return: and gently Marching, met some of the Enemy. They being charged made no resistance: but the night being extreme-

ly dark, scattered. So, little execution could be done upon them ; though some were killed, and others taken. In this blind Scuffel Captain *James Brown*, Brother to Sir *Valentine Brown*, a brave Gentleman, was slain. By the Prisoners we found that their Commander *Mac William Ridgeway* had been killed that day, shot out of a Castle in *Roches* Country. Which way they had taken to return with the Body, we could not find. We marched a little forwards ; but it being so dark that nothing could be done, I return'd with my Party to *Tallow*, and March'd the Army towards *Toughal*. All Castles on the way submitted on easie Terms. I will only take notice of one, because of the accident ; though I have forgotten the name of the place. I remember it was a Castle that yielded early in the morning without resistance. Now presently after the yielding of it, the Weather being very fair, I went a Hunting ; leaving Colonel *Henesey* to see the Quarter made good ; which was to

March

March with their Arms, bag and baggage. But the Soldiers having been used to taking of places by strong hand, and so enriching themselves by Plunder, would have done the like by this, though it had Conditions. To prevent any such matter, the Colonel and several Officers went into the Castle, joyning with the Garrison in its defence. But the Foot nevertheless fell on : and great shooting there was on all sides. Which I hearing returned in hast, thinking my Lord of *Inchiquin* had attempted something. The Soldiers seeing me come sooner than they expected, ran all into the Woods adjoyning. When I came to the Castle, and Colonel *Henesey* had related the matter, I made the Garrison March out, according to their Conditions. Then I began to enquire after my Mutineers, causing the Trumpets to sound, and Drums to beat, for drawing all to their Arms. Some time it was before these Gentlemen, could be gotten together. Being now in order of a Battel both Horse and Foot, I went

from Battallion to Battallion telling them their Fault : and what the consequence might have been : and concluded that they all merited Death. Which they acknowledging, I added, that some Justice must be done : and asked them, whether they were contented for examples sake to deliver two out of each Battallion, as it should fall amongst them by Lots. They agreed. But when they came to be Shot , I thought the number too great, and made them throw again for two only ; which Suffered. Being come before *Toughal*, I Encamped loosly, thinking to distress the place : and towards the Sea near *Crokers* works, I sent Major General *Butler* with fifteen hundred men, and some small pieces to hinder Succour that might come by Sea. Whilst this was doing, I in a night with a Party and two peices of Cannon, past the *Black Water* at *Temple Michael* : and before day had my two Guns planted, at the Ferry point over against *Toughal*, and within less than Musquet-shot

shot of two Parliament Frigats. At the second shot one blew up. But the Town, endeavouring to requite my Kindness, in a morning fell on Major General *Butler*, and took one of his Guns. Soon after this came a Fleet of Boats, and bigger Vessels sent by my Lord of *Inchiquin* from *Cork*, with supplies of Men and Provision, and succoured the Town. On which I March'd off, and trifled out the remain of the Campagne in destroying the Harvest. Only a Party of my men attempted to plunder the *Great Island* near *Barries Court*. But being ill guided in Passing, and the Sea Coming in sooner than they counted, their design failed. Besides there were of the Enemy that opposed their coming on the firm Land. Captain *Turlough Obryan* was killed by a loose shot, out of a Castle in the *Island*. Now it being the latter end of *November* the Snow falling, I retired to *Capper-Quin*. And Commissioners being come to lay out Winter Quarters for the Army: I left it and repaired to *Kilkenny*. Thus end-

ed my *Mounster* expedition, and the last that I served under the *Confederate Catholicks*. Whose Kindness and Confidence in me, I shall never forget, but acknowledge it where ever I am.

S E C T. V I.

The Peace of 46. Proclaimed. Lord Lieutenant comes to Kilkenny. That Peace opposed at Waterford, Limmerick, &c. Lord Castlehaven sent to the Nuncio; but in vain. He advises the Lord Lieutenant to March back to Dublin with all speed: waits on his Excellency all along: and carries the Sword before him through that City. The Nuncio Marches with two Armies to Besiege it; but comes short of his expectation. Lord Lieutenant Treats and concludes with the Parliament Commissioners. Castlehaven goes for France. Lord Lieutenant's admirable stedfastness, and most loyal constancy. He departs for England, & thence a little after to Paris. Glamorgan's Peace

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Since the Cessation there was always a *Treaty of Peace* held on with the Marquess of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant, and, after many Obstructions, at length concluded; since called the *Peace of 46*. Which being Proclaimed both at *Dublin* and *Kilkenny*, his Excellency came to this Town, accompanied with many Noble men and others, with twelve hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse. The *Supream Council* received him with all due respect, and surrendered their Government to him. But this Sun-shine lasted not long. The News was brought, that those of *Limbrick* had rejected the Peace, declaring for the *Popes Nuncio*: and had stoned the *King at Arms*, going to Proclaim it. *Clonmel* shut their Gates on the same Score. General *Owen Roe O Neal*, being proud by a late Victory he had gained over the *Scots* in *Ulster*, declared also for the *Popes Nuncio*. *Preston* General of *Leinster*, being at *Birr* in the

Kings County, lookt very cloudily ; yet had Correspondence with my Lord Lieutenant; but withal excusing his attendance on pretence of some Indisposition.

The Popes *Nuncio Joannes Baptista Rinuccini* Archbishop and Prince of *Fermo*, being at *Waterford* in the head of a great Congregation of Archbishops, Bishops, and other Clergy men Secular and Regular : and having by his Excommunications thus broken us : the Lord Lieutenant by the advice of the *Commissioners of Trust*, sent me to trie if I could persuade him to let the *Peace* go on. But all I could do was in vain ; he declaring his Resolution to oppose it to the utmost. For all this my Lord Lieutenant continued his design of going into *Mounster*, and I think to *Limbrick*, and March'd with all his Party. But coming to *Carrick* a house of his own, Word was brought him there, that *Mac Thomas* had declared for the *Nuncio*, and was drawn up near *Clanmel* with three or four hundred Horse. I was sent to him by his Excellency, as think-

thinking my Interest might have gained something on him, because he had served most of the Wars under my Command. When I came and delivered him my Message, he answered me, that he was engaged with the *Nuncio*, according to his Conscience, and would not quit him. I acquainted his Excellency with this answer, and that I saw no hopes of reclaiming this man. Yet my Lord Lieutenant would go on, and took his March towards *Cashel*; *Mac Thomas* Marching for the most part in sight of us. Coming near the Town, and making halt, his Excellency received Notice, I think, from my Lord *Dillon*, residing at *Athlone*, that *O Neal* was Marching against him with all the force he could make. Whereupon my Lord was pleased to call me to him: & telling me his intelligence askt my opinion what was to be done. I gave it quickly, that he should immediately March back the shortest way, and endeavour to gain *Laughlin* Bridge. He followed my advice. And, passing near *Kilkenny*,

Kilkenny, sent his brother Sir George Hambleton and my self, to let the Magistrates of that City know what Intelligence he had from all hands. However if they pleased, he would come to them, with the Party he had, and venture his Fortune with them. They received the Message with all kindness and duty: and answered, that if he pleased to come to them, they would serve him with their Lives; though they did believe, it would be the loss of him and them together. On our report his Excellency kept on his March for the gaining of *Laughlin*: where there was a Bridge that crossed the River of the *Barrow*, and a Fort at the end, on the County of *Catherloe* side, Commanded by Colonel *Walter Bagnal*. Having gained this point, we lost no time in our March to *Dublin*. Where, coming near, I think the whole people of the City came forth to meet his Excellency, with as much joy as ever man was received; having for several days judged him and his Party lost.

lost. Coming near the Subburbs, his Excellency honour'd me with carrying the Sword before him through the City, and into the Castle. I can give no reason for it (besides his own goodness) other than that, I had been always a promoter of the Peace, and the only of the *Confederate Catholicks*, that came with him, and never left him in these his Adventures. The *Nuncio* now thought all his own : committing to several Prisons such of the late *Supream Council* and others as he called of *Ormonds* Party. And having gotten his Forces together, March'd them in one Army (though they took, for their better conveniency in their March, two different ways) towards *Dublin*, *O Neal* and *Preston* as Generals Commanding under him. They were noised so numerous and powerful, that in good earnest the people, Officers and Soldiers did not know what to make of it, and shewed apprehension enough. His Excellency perceiving this, as it was too plain, called for me: and we discoursed

coursed the whole matter. I took the boldness to give my Opinion. Which was, That this Army of the *Nuncio* could no longer subsist in any place then as they found Provision, where they came. That neither of his Generals ever had any Magazines during the War. That they undertook this matter, in Confidence of the plenty they should find in his Quarters. That I thought it was a thing of too great hazard to oppose them in the Field; and yet if they were not stopped, they would come on, and at least live upon him till they had eaten all. Lastly, that on consideration of the whole, I thought it best to prevent their coming too near. Which could not be done another way then by destroying the Quarters. His Excellency was of the same Opinion: and therefore sent Orders immediately, to all people within eight Miles of the Town, to bring in whatever they had: giving them three or four days for it. And what was found abroad after the time prefixt, Parties were ordered to burn and destroy;

destroy ; particularly Forrage and Mills : for now all the Harvest was in. This was all effected, before the *Nuncio* and his Army were come to *Kilcullin-Bridge*. And yet how disappointed soever they were they advanc'd as far as *Leixlip* and *Newcastle* : both which places, lying within three Miles distance one of an other, and six from *Dublin*, they made their Head-quarters : *Preston* at *Leixlip*, and *Owen O Neal* at *Newcastle*: the *Nuncio* with his Council remaining at *Seginstown*, some six Miles farther off. But not being able to live long by the Air : for from their own Countries they expected not much : and the continual rains and prodigious swelling of the River *Liffy*, hindering that little that was coming to them (for all the Bridges over it were broken) and great jealousies (even more than the ordinary old ones) arising 'twixt the two Generals, and 'twixt the *Nuncio* also and *Preston* : they returned several ways, in greater hazard than they came.

The Quarters being destroyed ; and

Athlone

Athlone betrayed to the *Nuncio* by *Dillon*, a Fryer ; and the Harbour of *Dublin* blockt up by Parliament Men of War : my advice was ask'd by his Excellency in this extremity, with which of his Enemies he should Treat ? I answer'd, that I was confident he had resolved that before, there being no question in the case. For giving up to the Parliament, when the King should have *England* he would have *Ireland* with it ; but to the *Nuncio* and his Party, it might prove far other ways, and the two Kingdoms remain separate.

What weight this discourse had, I know not. But immediately my Lord Lieutenant engaged himself in a Treaty with the Parliament.

During which Treaty, his Excellency was forced to March into the County of *Westmeath*, and other parts to feed his people. Where we were not much at our ease. For by *Owen O Neal* we were kept in continual Alarne.

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the Parliament, I took my leave of his Excellency resolving to go for *France*: though with much grief of heart to leave this Noble Lord, who had shewn so much Loyalty, Justness and stedfastness in his proceedings during these Transactions; even from the meeting at *Seginstown*, to the Conclusion of the Peace, made with the *Confederates*; and now again to the giving up of his Government to the *Parliament*. For which I doubt not but he shall remain in Story, as he deserves, a Fixed-star, by the light of which others may walk in his steps.

But alas ! whilst this Noble Lord was acting above board with the *Confederates*, there was another Game playing under him and in the dark between the Earl of *Glamorgan*, and those of the *Nuncio*'s party. This Earl I know did pretend large Commissions from the King. But of his Treating a Peace, it was so secret that I never knew it (though I was at that time of the *Suprcam Council*) till that after the

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Archbishop of *Tuam* was killed, the Peace made with him was known at *Dublin*; it being found in the Archbishops Pocket; and the benefit of it earnestly pretended by the *Nuntio* and his Party, but as resolutely refused and rejected by my Lord Lieutenant. This Peace goes by the name of *Glamorgans Peace*. However the *Nuntio* having this colour, improves it: and by his Emissaries of the Clergy insinuates to the People, his threats of excommunicating those that should accept of *Ormonds Peace*, as they called it. This broke and divided the Catholicks extremely. Which the *Nuncio* perceiving, followed it with a Thundring Excommunication to that effect.

Now let the failour of this Peace lie at whose door it will, 'tis no rashness to say, That Story mentions not any one thing that had so fatal a consequence. For if this Peace had gone on, the King had presently been supplyed with great forces from *Ireland*, both of *English* and *Irish*: and so probably

might

might have been prevented, the ensuing mischiefs that shortly after happen'd both to him and all his Loyal Subjects throughout his Dominions.

But the *Irish* had a more particular ill Fate than the rest by this breach of Faith. For albeit they, discovering their Error, did, not long after, mightily endeavour to make amends the best they could by a second and very solemn Agreement; which their Commissioners signed, and themselves confirmed and Sealed it with the blood of more than twenty Thousand of their best men, who lost their lives to maintain it: refusing in the mean while all offers of Peace, and that even to the very last, from the Parliament: yet since his Majesties happy Restauration, their Estates are, by the *Acts of Settlement*, given away; some very few excepted. As if *all the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland* had been as guilty as those who began the *Rebellion of the North*: or as those that were the *only Authors* of breaking the *Peace of 46.*

S E C T. VII.

Private Treaties 'twixt Inchiquin and Taaf. Agents sent to Paris from the Confederates. Ormond return'd, and the Peace of 48. concluded. By it Castlehaven made General of the Horse. With 5000 Foot and a 1000 Horse he regains Mary-Borough, Athy, and all Leix from Owen O Neals people. Lord Lieutenant Marches to Dublin. Some difference happen'd in point of Command, makes Castlehaven withdraw. The uproar at Kilkenny suppress'd by him.

THe Marques of *Ormond*, having perform'd Agreements with the *Parliament*, left *Ireland*: and, after some time spent in *England*, went to *France*. At St. *Germain*s he attended the *Queen*, and *Prince of Wales*. It was not long before my Lord of *Inchiquin*, having some discontent given him

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him by the *Parliament*, entred into secret Treaties with the Lord *Taaf*, (since made Earl of *Carlingford*) and other General or Principal Leaders amongst the *Irish*: who, since the rejection of the *Peace*, having lost two great Battels, the one at *Dungan's-Hill*, (alias *Linch's Knock*) under General *Preston*, the other at *Knock na Noss* under my Lord *Taaf* (albeit this Nobleman had never been either of *Owen O Neal's Party*, or the *Nuncio's*; and then had fought against the *Parliament*) considering also they had lost in both those Battels eight Thousand men at least, kill'd down right, besides Prisoners: and looking on these great losses of their side, as heavy judgments of Heaven to punish the late unparallel'd breach of Publick Faith; begun to be as weary of the *Nuncio*, as my Lord of *Inchiquin* was of the *Parliament*. Wherefore they concluded to contrive the Marquess of *Ormond's* return: and, when he was come, to declare for the King. To this end Agents are sent

from the Confederates to *France*, viz. the Marques of *Antrim*, the Lord Viscount *Muskry*, and *Jeffrey Brown Esq*; Upon their offers, the *Queen* and *Prince of Wales* dispatch'd my Lord Lieutenant to *Ireland*. Accordingly he shipt at *Haver-de-Grace* in a States Man of War, and Landed at *Cork*: my self and many others attending him. My Lord of *Inchiquin* was then with the Army in the Field, but soon came to him; I went before to *Kilkenny*. Where without delay, but not before his Excellency also was come thither, a new *Treaty* was set on Foot, between him and the *Irish*; an *Assembly* of them sitting at that time in the Town. After many disputes and reasonings (which is not my busines to relate) a *Peace* was concluded, called since the *Peace of Forty eight*. What Agreement there was between my Lord Lieutenant and my Lord of *Inchiquin* I know not. But am sure, that my Lord of *Inchiquin* demanded of my Lord Lieutenant all *Mounster*, for the recruiting and strengthening his

his Army : and had it. By which the *Irish* standing Regiments of that Province came to little or nothing.

But to introduce my own Story, I am to tell you, That in the *Peace of Forty six* there was an Article by which it was left to the Confederate Catholicks to name certain persons, for General Officers, to whom my Lord Lieutenant was to give Commissions. Now I having served them long, as has been seen by the Story ; and the same Article being confirmed in this *Peace* : they named me, as they had done in the former, to be General of the Horse of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. Which his Excellency approved, and accordingly gave me a Commission, and soon after sent me into the *Queens County* with five Thousand Foot, a Thousand Horse and some Cannon to reduce the Fort of *Lease*, (otherwise called *Mary-Borough*) *Athy* and other Garisons, possesst by *O Neals* people. These Troops, for the most part, were Commanded by Sir *Tho. Armstrong*, Colonel *Freswell*,

and other *English* Officers: men that had always followed my Lord Lieutenants fortune: and had been recruited and reinforced out of their Winter-Quarters, as *Kilkenny* and some Countries about.

With them having well executed my Order, without any considerable resistance, I Marched to *Laughlin-Bridge*, and Encamped, giving an account to his Excellency what had pass'd: and that I would there expect his farther Orders. But 'twas not many days, before my Lord Lieutenant, the Lord of *Inchiquin*, Lieutenant General of the Army, the Lord *Taaf* Master of the Ordnance, *Mr. Daniel O Neal* Gouvernour of his Excellencies Guards of Horse, with other Generals, and the whole Army of my Lord *Inchiquin*, and some *Irish* Regiments joyned us. So with a goodly Train of Artillery, we passed the River *Barrow*, and that night Encamped in the County of *Catherloe*. Where something pass'd in point of Command, that gave me ground to judge

judge my self wronged. Besides I was harassed by my Marches and Labours in the *Queens County*. In consideration of which, his Excellency, at my request, gave me leave to retire, for the refreshing my self: and his Excellency Marched on and invested *Dublin*.

But, being returned to *Kilkenny*, I found the City in an uprore. The occasion, and issue of it, take as followeth. One Father *Caron*, at that time Commissary General of the Recollects all over *Ireland*, being in *Kilkenny*, to reform the abuses of some of his Order there, was by the *Commissioners of Trust* desired to remove one *Brenan*, and six or seven more, out of the Monastery of that Town, and send them elsewhere to be kept under Discipline. The reason of this desire was, That those men, were notoriously known to be still most violent sticklers for the ways of the *Nuncio*: and that they made it their business to incense the people anew against the Peace; alienate them from the Government; and draw them wholly to *Owen*

O Neal, who yet stood out against all agreement with the King.

To satisfie so just a demand of the Commissioners, Father *Caron* appoints a day for *Brenan* and his Associates to depart *Kilkenny*, and go to the several other Convents, which he had appointed for them. And because he found by their Answers, they were resolv'd not to obey him : the *Commissioners of Trust*, upon notice thereof, more effectually resolve to force their obedience to his Commands, by sending them away conducted by Guards, but yet Guards of Roman Catholick Souldiers, to the Convents appointed them by him, who was their undoubted Spiritual Superior.

Of this resolution of the *Commissioners of Trust*, *Brenan* and his refractory brethren having timely notice : and seeing very well there was no fence for them against this flail, but by that of some extraordinary means : and then reflecting on their interest, as Natives in the Town ; for three or four of them were

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were so, as one, by name *Rooth*, was Brother to the Mayor: besides, confiding mightily in the common people, whom they had already possess'd with many lies: but above all persuading themselves, that no Catholick durst attempt to violate the Sanctity of their Habit, or priviledge of their profession, by laying violent hands upon them; and Protestants there were none in Town at that time; which they knew very well: what do they conclude at last? even very Religiously to raise a most dangerous Tumult: and that by the most damnable malicious lye that could be forged.

When the day appointed was come, they by themselves and their Emissaries, inform the heads of the rabble abroad, and throughly possess them, That the Commissary and Father *Peter Walsh*, with some five or six more of their Company, men that had always stood up for the Kings Government, *had privately introduced a number of the Baron of Inchiquins Protestant Irish Soldiers*

diers into their Convent, and there clothed, in the Habit of that Order, all of them like Friers ; of purpose to seise at night those few Religious men that remain'd unalterable in their obedience to the Apostolick See : and for that cause, and unknown to any, at such a time of darkness and silence, either to drown them in the River Neoir that runs by their Garden ; or wafting them over it by Boat, to lead them to a more cruel Death elsewhere, in some unknown place.

This lie enflam'd so the meanner sort in the Town and Suburbs (pretty well, before it, prepar'd by many other inventions) that upon a fuddain vast numbers of them force their way into the Monastery, cursing & exclaiming against those that would turn away their Friends. And then, arming themselves with what ever came next to hand ; and with all fury imaginable attacking a little Castle, whereinto the Commissary with his company had withdrawn, they force this too. Nor could Lieutenant General *Bellew* and Captain *Dillon*

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Dillon hold out long. These two Gentlemen, so soon as they saw the door of the Castle flying open, rush'd in among the first, and with their Swords drawn plac'd themselves on the narrow stairs that lead up to the Garret; whether the Commissary and his Associates were now gotten. But the odds was too great, and their two Swords were too short and weak, against so many more spits and poles. So they also being beat from their Post; the Commissary, and Fathers with him had no retreat, but to the Battlement, through the Garret window. The shutter of this window was pretty thick and of Oak: and for that reason fastened by them, as well as they could, in the outside towards themselves. Which they had scarce done, when the Assailants, gotten up to the Garret, with stones and rafters pelt at this last defence.

And now the Fathers, utterly despairing of life, lay themselves on their knees, praying to God, and shrieking one another. Onely Father *Walsh* put himself

self in another posture. Which was, Standing at a corner of the Battlement, and Speaking and Preaching thence as from a Pulpit to the people: not only discovering their great Error, and representing the horrour of what was a doing; but upbraiding them also with the greatest ingratitude imaginable towards himself. And then asking them (for it began to be dusky) did not they know him, that lived so many years among them? Or were they ignorant, it was he that was chiefly fought for to be murdered? And yet did not they remember, it was he alone that with the hazard of his own life, but two years before, did save them all? Their Mayor and Aldermen from being hang'd at their Gates by *Owen Roe O Neal*? Their whole City from being Sack'd by his then victorious exasperated Army? And their Castle from either receiving in an *Ulster* Garrison; or being seiz'd upon a few days after, by the *Nuncio* himself in person?

To this utmost extremity were these
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Besieged Fathers brought, only one single Window leaf, a board that was not above an inch thick, and it a forcing too, parting them and Death: when I had the good Fortune to rescue them. For, just in that nick of time, I came to Town, accompanied with two or three Trumpets, about a dozen Horse, with five or six Gentlemen (of which Sir *George Hamilton* was one) and some Footmen. And, being inform'd of the matter, I Gallop'd presently with those of my Company to the place; had a charge founded; and fell in among the Rabbble, firing of Pistols, and crying *Kill, kill, kill.* The multitude hearing the Trumpets, and seeing the fire (for 'twas now grown dusky) and knowing my voice, found themselves surpriz'd, and thought themselves betray'd; as knowing the Army to be far off in their March to *Dublin*; and therefore immediately routed and run away; though they had brought those in the Castle so low; that (to speak within compass) they could not hold out half a quarter of

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an hour. These Fathers being thus relieved, after four hours defence; I inquired who Governed this Siege: and found it to be seven or eight Fryers in a house by, the chiefest of them the forementioned *Brenan*, and *Rooth*. I call'd for them down. And whilst I was speaking, came to my assistance the Town Major, one *Archer*, with a hundred Musquetiers, and presently followed the Mayor and Aldermen. Whom after I had ratled soundly for suffering this disorder, I Commanded to lay hold of these Friars and carry them Prisoners to the Castle. At which they staggering, and this *Brenan* a sturdy Frier, saying he would fain see what man durst, Toutch his Habit: I laying hold on him said, Lies the Enchantment there? And after this the Mayor, Town Major, and all the rest carried them away Prisoners to the Castle, as I had appointed.

S E C T. VIII.

He returns to the Army. Inchiquin Marches to Mounster with 1100 Horse from the Siege of Dublin. That Siege rais'd. Cromwel landed at Dublin, takes Drogheda by Storm. The Lord Lieutenant forms a good Army in the County of Kilkenny. Inchiquin worsted at Glascurrig. Castlehaven relieves Wexford: which after is betray'd by Stafford. Castlehaven relieves Duncannon: and the Siege of it raised. Cromwel takes Ross, and thence Marches to the County of Cork, where all the Towns open to him. Tickle's Treacherous undertaking. Castlehaven made Commander in Chief of Leinster. He Storms Athy. Gowran betray'd to Cromwel. The Plague raging at Kilkenny, Cromwel Besieges and takes it by composition. Castlehaven's Orders not obeyed; he goes to my Lord Lieutenant in the County of Clare. Now

Now after a while that I had diverted my self a Hunting, I repaired to *Limbrick*: and there lay; causing by fair and foul means all people both in that City and County, to bring in what remained, due to the King of their Aplotments. Having got ten Thousand pound together, I delivered it to Sir *George Hambleton* Treasurer of the Army. My Lord Lieutenant now wrote to the *Commissioners of Trust* sitting at *Kilkenny* to let me know, that I should come to the Army, and that all difficulties concerning Command should be removed to my Satisfaction. I obeyed, and Sir *George* and my self with our ten Thousand pound went to the Army; which we found in their March, removing from the *Phoenix* side of *Dublin* to *Rath Mines*, where they Encamped.

But my Lord of *Inchiquin*, soon after acquainted his Excellency with some Letters he had received from his Officers in *Mounster*, that *Cromwel* was to land

land there. would revolt speedy repair his Army. of *Inchiquin* Consent that with eleven Excellency which I was ging the whole work in hand Lieutenants business to s aving been the undertak enough for m lord of *Inch* Horse March imagine man happen'd the And, not with his Arm to *Tredath*; Towns in the tenant, not him, retired

land there. Which if so, all his Towns would revolt, if not prevented by his speedy repair thither, with some or all his Army. In Order to this, my Lord of *Inchiquin* desired his Excellency's Consent that he might March away with eleven hundred Horse: and his Excellency imparted all to me. At which I was infinitely surprized, alledging the whole Army too weak for the work in hand. I remember my Lord Lieutenants Answer. But 'tis not my business to speak more of this Subject, having been always kept a stranger to the undertaking of this Siege. 'Tis enough for me to tell you here, that my Lord of *Inchiquin* with eleven hundred Horse March'd away: and you may imagine many more. Soon after this, happen'd the Defeat before *Dublin*.

And, not long after, that *Cromwell* with his Army Landed there; March'd to *Tredath*; and took it with all the Towns in those parts. My Lord Lieutenant, not being able to stand before him, retired with what Troops he had

to the County of *Kilkenny*. Where my Lord of *Inchiquin* came to him, and in a short time they formed a good Army. For, besides my Lord of *Inchiquins* Forces, many *Ulster* Regiments of Foot joyned them : *Owen O Neal* having by this time, though too late for himself and the King's service, come in upon *Articles*, which he sign'd upon his Death-bed, after he had been rejected by the Parliament.

Cromwel being retired to *Dublin* refresh'd his Army ; fitted himself for a new undertaking ; and took his March by the Sea side through the County of *Wicklowe* to Besiege *Wexford*. My Lord of *Inchiquin* was sent to oppose him. They met on the Strand in the County of *Wexford* towards *Glascarrig* : fought ; and my Lord was Worsted.

My Lord Lieutenant being with his Army come to *Ross*, and fearing a want of men within *Wexford* ; I, knowing the Town and Country about it, offer'd to attempt the Relief. My Lord accepted my good Will, and ordered me as

as many Regiments of *Ulster Foot*, as made fifteen hundred men. The Colonels were my Lord of *Eveah*, and one *Mac Coffre*, also I think another, and appointed two hundred Horse to escort us. I took a great compass and came before day to the Ferry, near Sir *Thomas Esmond's* house called *Ballin-Treman*, who as I remembred was with me. Then leaving the Horse for my return, I Passed that Arm of the Sea in Boats: and having delivered the Foot to Sir *Edmund Butler* the Governor; I took the same way homewards as I came.

The Town thus Manned was Impregnable, as to *Cromwel* by force. Yet he took it by the advantage of a Castle that was betray'd unto him by the Governour, one *James Stafford*. This Castle, was strong, and stood about two or three hundred Paces from the Wall. The Communication with the Town could not be Cut. So that the Danger was least there, if Treachery had not been in the Case. But the

Castle being betray'd, it Mastered all that part of the Wall. So *Cromwel's* Forcers entred, and made almost as great a Slaughter as at *Drogheda*.

My Lord Lieutenant then with his Army, retired over the River of *Ross*, and encamped on the County of *Kilkenny* side. From whence his Excellency sent me into the County of *Waterford* to *Passage*, over against *Bally-hack*, to look after the relieving of *Duncannon*, Besieged by some of *Cromwel's* people; I think *Ireton* Commanded. And for all there were Parliament Ships before it, I ventured one morning with a Boat, and got into the place, to the Governour a brave Gentleman, one Colonel *Wogane*, whom my Lord sometime before had sent to Command: and with him, besides the *Irish* Garrison, about a hundred *English* Officers, who had served the King in the Wars of *England*. He from the highest part of the Rampart, shewed me how the Enemy lay. After I had well considered all, I offered to send him that night by Sea,

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Sea, eighty Horse Saddled and with Pistols, if he would mount them with so many of his *English* Officers, and before day, with them and some Foot, make a sharp Sally. He lik'd it extremely, but doubted my part, for putting in the Horse, it being about three miles by Sea. I bad him leave that to me.

Having thus concluded, I took my Boat, returned, and set my self to my Busines. The Tide serving at the beginning of the night, and having provided Boats, I Commanded eighty choice Horse to come to the Sea side. Where, making the Horsemen alight, I caused the Horses to be Boated, sending some to hold them. They entred the Place, and all was executed as designed; great Slaughter made, and the Cannons seised. For the Confusion amongst the Enemy was great, by reason that they judged it, the falling in of an Army from abroad, hearing and seeing horses, and knowing none to be in the Fort. Our people retiring before

day, the Enemy raised the Siege in the morning, and Marched off.

His Excellency shortly after this, made me Gouvernour of *Waterford*: whither I went, with a Thousand men. But the Town would not admit them entrance. On which I, after several days dispute, being in despair, Marched away in the night.

All this while the Armies were not idle. For *Cromwel*, after the renditon of *Wexford*, came to *Ross*: making a breach, took it: passed the River there: Marched through the County of *Kilkenny* to *Carick*: and passing the River of the *Shower* into the County of *Waterford*, March'd on into the County of *Cork*; where all my Lord of *Inchiquins* Towns opend their Gates to him.

The particular actings between the Armies, I must leave to those that know better; for I was seldom with them, but employed up and down, as you see. The persons principally intrusted by my Lord Lieutenant for the Government of the Army, were my Lord of *Inchiquin*

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quin and my Lord *Taaf*, till the Spring following.

Then *Cromwel* began to move again, having drawn his Forces together : and had gained one Captain *Tickle* to secure him a Gate or two of *Kilkenny*, when he should think fit. The Plague strangely raged now in this City : as it had done for a long time in all our Towns. And *Cromwel*, having left his Garisons in the County of *Cork*, in good Order, was advanced into the County of *Tipperary*, in his way to the Siege of *Kilkenny*. I, having nothing to do, went one morning early a Fox-Hunting, as I was accustomed all the Winter. My Lord Lieutenant joyning me in my way, said, he would see what we did. Being a little farther out of Town, he began to tell me how he had discovered this Treachery of *Tickle*; *Cromwels* approach ; and his design to Besiege this place. After some discourse it was not long, before my Lord came to the point, and told me that it was resolved in Council that

he should immediately repair into the County of *Clare*, & from thence and the adjacent Countries endeavour theraising an Army to attend the Motions of *Cromwel*: and that, in his absence, he should appoint me Commander in chief of the Province of *Leinster*.

Any man may judge how I was pleased, with this honour. But my obedience, though I thought my self lost by it, obliged me to a Submission. So I cast my self at my Lords Feet to dispose of me as he pleased. The Commission with all necessary Orders dispatched, his Excellency with his Generals and *Commissioners of Trust* left *Kilkenny*, and went straight to the County of *Clare*.

I lost no time, and bestirr'd my self, making Major *James Walsh* Governour of the Castle, and Sir *Walter Butler* of the City. I did all I could to furnish it with Men, Provision, and Ammunition of all sorts: then March'd out my self leaving the Garisons strong, about

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Cromwel now having left *Cashel*, and being on his March to *Callen*, I went to *Catherlow*, hoping to have met there such Troops from all parts of the Province as I had ordered. But those Quartered in the lower Divident under the Command of the Lord *Dillon*, intirely failed, being about the number of two Thousand five hundred Foot, and six or seven hundred Horse : and in their stead I received a Letter from his Lordship, as if he were sending them in great hast. But they never came, though I repeated often my Orders.

These, and other Troops not appearing, I knew not well what to do. For I had only with me 800 Foot of the Province, and an *Ulster* Regiment of twelve hundred more. Sir *Thomas Armstrong* Commissary General of the Horse, a brave Commander, was my chief Counsellor. His Regiment, with my Lord Lieutenants Commanded by Colonel *Treswell*, and some other Troops,

Troops, made up near a Thousand Horse.

At this time an *Irish* man was brought unto me, taken by some of my Guards ; who, being to be examined, desired to speak with me alone. Which being granted ; he produced a piece of yellow Wax, in form almost round ; which he was to swallow on occasion. Within it there was Note from *Huson* to *Cromwel*, intimating that he with his Forces were on their March from *Dublin* towards him ; but desired his Orders in respect that I lay in his way. Having Copied the Note, I roul'd it in the Wax, as I had it. And the fellow having assured me of his return with *Cromwel's* answer I trusted him, & suffer'd him to go on his way. The second or third day he came to me, and delivered me another piece of Wax, as the former, with *Cromwel's* Order to *Huson* inclosed ; which I kept. However *Huson* held on his March, and pass'd the River *Barow* eight or ten Miles below me.

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Now though I was not of strength to meddle with his Army, I made some advantage of my Intelligence, and Marched to *Athy* a Town with a Bridge eight Miles above on the same River ; where *Huson* had a Magazine, with seven hundred men in Garison : and, coming before it about an hour before Sun-set, I took it by Storm, with all the Garison Prisoners at discretion. But the place not being tenable, I slighted it : and not knowing what to do with my Prisoners, I made a Present of them to *Cromwel* ; desiring him by Letter, that he would do the like with me, as any of mine should fall into his power.

But he little valued my Civility. For in a very few days after he Besieged *Gowran*, where Colonel *Hammond* Commanded : and the Souldiers Mutining and giving up the place with their Officers, he caused this Gouvernor *Hamond* and some other *English* Officers to be shot to Death. Which being done, and all other places in the County of

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Kilkenny cleared by him, he falls to work and Besieges *Kilkenny* it self. Whereupon I took my March to *Baliraget* within 7 Miles of him. But finding my self too much exposed there, I Marched into *Offaly*, and made my head Quarter at *Castletown*, a place belonging to Mr. *Fits Patrick*. Whence I sent again to the Lord *Dillon* to come unto me with all the Force he had. He gave me still fair promises (as before) but never came. I then with the advice of Sir *Thomas Armstrong* and Colonel *Treswel*, resolv'd with my Party to enter *Kilkenny*. Which was easie to be done ; the side where the River runs being open, but when I came to our Rendevous, my *Ulster* Regiment appeared not, but were Marched away to their own Country ; alleadging they came to Fight against men, but not against God. Their meaning was because of the Plague.

This Design being thus broken, and a great breach made in the Wall near the Castle, which had been assaulted

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two or three times, and no hopes ever to be Succoured; I sent Orders to the Governors to make Conditions when they thought fit, and both to joyn at the same time, though the Castle might hold out two or three days longer than the Town.

Cromwel being thus Master of *Kilkenny*, I retired into the Kings County. Where, understanding that *Carloe Castle* was Besieg'd, I appointed a Rendevous; intending to attempt the Succour. But coming to the place, I found not half my Foot. The rest were March'd into *Mounster*, I know not by what order.

Now finding my self thus used: and reflecting on several other hardships put upon me since the *Peace of 48* in despair of success, I left *Leinster*, and went to my Lord Lieutenant in the County of *Clare*. Where I rendred him an account, how I had been failed, to the end he might do as he thought fit.

S E C T. I X.

Made Commander in Chief of Mounster, and Limbrick receiving him, Ireton raises his Siege that night. Transports 2000 men by Boats into Kerry. Persuades Clanrickard to accept of the Government. Sends Orders to the several Provinces; which are not obeyed. Passes with 1000 Horse through Limbrick to the Silver Mines: and how this design failed. Hinders the General Assembly from Agreeing with the Parliament. Relieves Tercrochan; and Fox hang'd. Ireton fitting down again before Limmerick; he defends the Pass at Killaloe. Sent for to Galway, hinders the agreement with the Duke of Lorrain. Return'd to Killaloe receives Letters from Ireton, and answers them; but is betray'd at Bryan's Bridge by Captain Kelly, and at Killaloe by Colonel Fennel. Athlone given up, and Galway besieged,

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 I Had not been long there attending his Excellency, before Ireton sate down before Limbrick, on the County of Limbrick side, leaving Tomond's side open. His Excellency repaired thither: and, being come near the end of the Bridge, sent to the Mayor, to let him know that he was there, with some Troops, and ready to enter with them for the defence of the place. The Mayor having consulted his Brethren, made excuse as if they had no need of relief. Several Messages pass to and fro, till at length his Excellency losing all patience, declared unto them that if they would not receive and obey him, he would leave the Kingdom. All would not do. And so, turning aside, he called me to him, and told me that he was in good earnest, and would be gone: but Com-
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manded me to stay, and keep up a Bussel as long as I could ; it being the Kings Service. I was very unwilling to remain behind, seeing he took with him my Lord of *Inchiquin*, my Lord *Taaf*, Colonel *Daniel O Neal*, and other his friends. But the sound of the Kings Service so Charmed me, that I abandon'd my own Judgment, and submitted to what his Excellency should Order. He then gave me a Commission to be Commander in chief of the Province of *Mounster*, and the County of *Clare* ; having before that of *Leinster*. Thus qualified, together with my being General of the Horse of the Kingdom, his Excellency gave me Possession of his Troops there standing in their Arms, together with his Life-Guard to serve me as they had done him ; and, as I counted, they were in all about two Thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse. His Excellency for my better encouragement assured me, that he would leave a Commission for my Lord of *Clanrickard*, to be Lord Deputy.

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Now my Lord being gone, and not suffering me to accompany him more than a Mile, I went into the Town addressing to the Mayor and Aldermen. I told them how I was left, and ask'd them whether they were pleased with it, and would obey me? They took no long time to consult, but submitted themselves to my pleasure. On which I immediately visited their Walls: and at the same time took a view of the Enemy: whom I judged to be very loose and exposed, if vigorously assaulted. On which, I resolved, in the first of the night, to draw my Troops into the Town, and a little before day to make a sharp Sally. On what Intelligence, I know not, but *Iretton* raised his Siege, and marched off in the night. This done, I returned my Troops to their Quarters and remained my self in the Town, till I had sent my Orders to all Officers, commanding in the several Provinces, and particularly to my Lord of *Muskry* then in *Kerry*, ordering him to make him-
self

self so strong as he could, and that I would soon be with him to encrcafe his Forces. Which I performed, passing the *Shanon* about twelve miles below *Limbrick*, with two thousand men. And though the River was full of Parliament Ships and two miles over, yet I had not the least loss. 'Tis true I took the night, and landing in *Kerry* near *Drombeg*, I marcht till I came to my Lord of *Muskry* at *Tralie*. Having acquainted him with what had past, and ordered what I would have done, particularly in raising of Forces, I left my men with him, and returned to *Iniss*, my Residence in the County of *Clare*.

Where being come, and a little refresh'd, I went to *Portumne* to visit the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, and came there before Dinner. He bad me very Welcome. After Dinner, I desired to retire my self for an hour or two. He brought me to my Chamber, and asked, Whether it would not be troublesome that he took a Pipe of Tobacco

bacco by me ; I said, no, but the contrary ; yet, shewed my self melancholy. He did what he could to divert it : but I pretended withal not to be very well, and spake to a Servant of his that stood at the Door, to bring me a Glass of Sack : My Lord was much pleased with that, and called for a Bottle.

Now, my Point was to get him to take the Government, by accepting the Commission left by my Lord Lieutenant : yet I speak nothing of it, hoping he would begin ; which he did. The passages on this subject are too long to relate here. But before we parted, I got him to send to the *Commissioners of Trust*, (these were men named by the Confederates, and agreed to by my Lord of *Ormond* to see the performance of the Articles of Peace) then sitting at *Loghreach*, requiring them to send him his Commission : for he would take upon him the Government. And to lose no time, I gave him the best account I

could of the Forces in the Kingdom, as well Friends as Foes. For he during the War had been no more than a Spectator, beloved and respected of all, and might have so continued, had not his great Loyalty drawn him to take up this Commission : which was little less than to Sacrifice himself and his, only to give the King time to trie his fortune with *Cromwell*: their Armies being near *Sterling* in *Scotland*, Encamped near together, as the Kings Letters to us imported, brought by *Deane King*, an Express newly come. We agreed at this meeting, that his Lordship should immediately raise a thousand Horse as an addition to the Standing Forces of *Connaught*, and that I should march with my thousand Horse, out of the County of *Clare* to the *Silver Mines* in the County of *Tipperary*, passing through *Limbrick* in the night, and be at such a day and hour at the Rendevous, and there I should meet fifteen hundred Foot, that he would send with a good Officer. His

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Part was little more than crossing the *Shanon* at his door, and marching four or five miles ; no Enemy in those Parts.

I complied punctually with my Order, and the Mayor of *Limbrick*, as I marched through the City, on demand gave me a hundred Foot. The Alarm of my March was soon given to Sir *Hardress Waller*, or my Lord *Brochil*, or both, lying near *Kilmallock* with great Forces. They pursued me ; and I coming to our appointed Rendevous, no news there was of the fifteen hundred Foot. Having lost this Anchor, I was put to my Wits ends. But not having much time to think, the Enemy coming on, I resolved to thrust into the next Fastness, and save my self as well as I could. But there was a Castle of the *O-Machers* that stood in the way, possest by the Enemy. And there being no other passage, I sent to the adjacent Villages, and got together Crows of Iron, Pickaxes, and what else that could be found necessary ; and making my Horse-men to alight,

I fell a Storming the Castle. Which with the Assistance of the *Limbrick* Foot, in three or four hours time was yielded. I left my hundred men in this place to secure the Pass. Now being pretty safe, I lodg'd that night at my ease, where Collonel *Fitz Patrick* came to me, who had for some time kept in those Fastnesses with a good Party of Foot and some Horse. My men being well refreshed, I took the plain Countrey near *Burras*: and after entring the Woods at the foot of the Mountain *Sleau Bleauma*, I met Sir *Walter Dungan* then Commissary General of the Horse, as was Ordered. He brought with him only three hundred Horse; but I finding my self still pursued with Horse and Foot, besides what were gathering round on all sides, I took leave of Sir *Walter*, ordering him to return from whence he came, and to stop all Forces that I had sent for, as well from *Ulster* as *Leinster*. So I with my thousand Horse marched into *Conaught*, passing by the Bridge of

of *Athlone*. Being there, I posted to *Loghbreak*, where my Lord *Deputy* was, with a *General Assembly* sitting in his House. I, coming into his Chamber, found with him about a dozen principal men of the *Assembly* deputed to him ; setting forth the desperate Estate of the Nation, with the impossibility much farther to hold out. Besides, that there were now come to the Town, Mr. *John Grace*, and Mr. *John Bryan* Commissioners from the *Parliament*, or their Commander in Chief, offering greater Conditions than was reasonably to be expected, as the case stood. Whilst this Address was making, my Lord was glad to see me come in, and ordered them to repeat what they had said. I seemed much scandalized at the ill timing of their Proposals : and therefore presently declared my dislike to it. Then by my Lords permission, weary and dirty, as I was, I went down into the Assembly, as a Peer being a Member, and express my detestation of what they had

in hand : demonstrating, that if those fifteen hundred men, commanded by one Collonel *Burk* had not failed, I had probably now been Master of the Field : besides, that the noise of a Treaty might destroy all what could be hoped for of good from the Kings Endeavours against *Cromwel*; that His Majesty, as his own Letters spoke, both to my Lord Deputy and my self, made no doubt, if he could gain fourty eight hours march before *Cromwel* towards *England*, his business was done, because all were ready there to joyn in assisting him. And, that he therefore, conjured us not to hearken to any *Treaty* with the Enemy. Then I set forth the state of the Forces of the Kingdom on all sides, and concluded very severally against the two *Parliament Commissioners*. So that they hastily packt out of Town, and the Assembly let the matter fall.

Reynolds now besieged *Tecrohan* in *Meath*; and my Lord Deputy came to *Tyrrels Pace* about twelve miles from

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it, with two thousand Foot and seven hundred Horse. A Council of War being held, I proposed, that our Horse should alarm the Enemy, whilst the Foot attempted to succour the Place, taking their March through the Bogs. 'Twas alledged by all impossible to be done. For coming near the place, there were two necks of Land that did almost meet: and that between them there was a great Way or *Tougher*, with a large Ditch of Water on each side, which must be crossed: and that in all likelihood the Enemy would plant their Guns on the firm Land, at both ends of this *Tougher*, and bring the strength of their Army to defend that Passage; there being no other way, seeing we had not force to attempt them on the firm Land. I heard all this, and knew it well; yet, did not agree to the Impossibility of entring the place. Then addressing my self to the *Deputy*, I begged pardon if I guessed at the thoughts of the Officers present; which was, that I being General

General of the Horse might well advance this Undertaking : For, I was to be with the Horse, and so to have no share in this Danger. But to shew them the contrary, I desired his Excellency to give me the Command of this party of Foot ; which he did : and himself to march with the Horse to alarm the Enemy on another side. It being thus determined, I entred the Bog (which was eight miles long) with my two thousand Foot, and his Excellency took his March as was agreed. Coming in sight of this *Tougher*, I found the Enemy expecting as we had supposed, for they saw me Marching from the first entring into the Bog. I then put my men into the best Order I could in three Divisions : two to attempt passing the *Tougher*, the third to stand still, faceing two or three Battallions, that were drawn on my right hand ; fearing they would fall on my Flank or Rear. I March'd on with my two Divisions. Coming within Shot, they raked me with their Cannon,

Cannon, and Shot. But I men fought handy blows, fended it, ret stood drawn *Tougher* or if go so well, I third Division full, coming crying to the to attack the commanded t turned to his in Irish that March'd two in such a fash whether he is ing away. where he mu away, and all which when had passed the ed on into the lone, only so and by the

Cannon, and great Volleys of small Shot. But I advanced still, and my men fought it on the *Tougher* with handy blows, making those that Defended it, retire to their Horse which stood drawn up at each end of the *Tougher* or firm Land. Seeing this go so well, I look'd back, and saw my third Division, which was to stand still, coming after me. I ran to it, crying to the Officer that Commanded, to attack the Battallions which he was commanded to look after: on this, he turned to his men, and spake something in *Irish* that I do not know, and March'd two or three hundred Paces, in such a fashion, that I could not tell whether he intended Fighting or Running away. But coming to the Point where he must declare, he plainly run away, and all his Party followed him. which when the two Divisions, that had passed the *Tougher* saw, they Marched on into the Place: and I was left alone, only some Gentlemen with me; and by the favour of the night, for now

now it began to be dark, I got off: and by the next morning returned to *Terrils Pace*, where I had left my Lord Deputy: who had all the Story before my coming, and sending out took this Captain that had caused this Dis-order; who, by a Council of War being condemned, was shot to Death. His name was *Fox*.

After this *Ireton* was not idle, knowing our weakness too well, and that I did only keep up a Bussel, till the King and *Cromwel* had decided their Quarrel. He therefore again sate down before *Limbrick*, with a powerful Army, on the County of *Limbrick* side. I, with what Force could be drawn together, March'd to *Killallow*, and there Encamped. He kept a Guard on his side the River, as I did against him at *Bryans-Bridge*, and *Castle Conel*. We lay in this manner a long time: he attempting nothing either on the Town, or River, which was not yet forceable in any place.

My Lord Deputy, being at *Galway*,
sent

sent me a Letter in all hast to come to him. On my Arrival he told me, that the *Abbot of St. Katherine* was in the Harbour, and in his Company many Officers with a quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and other Materials for War. That they were sent by the Duke of *Lorrain*, who pretended by some agreement to be *Protector Royal* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, with Power over all our Forces, and Places. And that he was to continue that Title and Dominion till after the War ended, he were reimburst all his Expences; and his Damages satisfied. I was much startled at this News. For though I struggled to keep up a Bussel, I never intended to buy it so dear as to give Footing, or colour of Pretence or Title to any Foreign Prince. And having heard my Lord all out, I took the boldness to ask him, how far he was concerned in this matter. He protested before God, and upon his Honour, that he never gave Commission for any such Treaty: and, as to the thing he knew

knew no more than what he had told me, other then that the *General Assembly* then sitting in the Town, were in great joy for this Succour, and prest him earnestly for the reception. But I found him entirely against it.

Being thus satisfied, I desired him to leave the matter to me, and let me deal with the Assembly. Immediately therefore I went and found them on the Debate. To which in my time I spake, and with much Detestation of the thing, declared all Traytors that were for receiving this succour on those terms: and that I would not sit more to hear of this Stuff, but return to my Forces, knowing what I had to do. My Lord *Deputy* was much pleased with this round Discourse: and publickly approved it. So the Abbot with what he had returned from whence he came.

At my return (which was without delay) to *Killallow*, I found all quiet. And, whether *Ireton* had Information of this Passage, I know not; but by a Trumpet I received from him a long

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Letter, four sides of Paper close written in a small hand. The drift was, to set forth the justness of the Parliaments proceedings ; their great Power ; how short a time I could subsist ; what ill Company I was with, and threw what durst he could on the King I served, but concluded with great value of my person ; pitying my Condition, and offering me, that if I would retire and live in *England* privately, I should not only enjoy my Estate, but remain in safety with the esteem and favour of the Parliament. I immediately shewed this Letter, to Father *Peter Walsh*, my then Ghostly Father, whom I had always found faithful to the King, and a lover of his Country. With his advice, by the same Trumpet, I answered all his Points : and rejected his proposition concerning my own person : desiring him withal to send no more Trumpets with such Errands, if perhaps he would not have the Messenger ill Treated. From this time there was an end of all Messages and Letters between us.

Now

Now *Ireton* remained still and quiet, without any action or attempt, expecting the coming of Sir *Charles Coot* on my back, or the fall of the River. Both came together, and besides that, a third unlucky accident. For now some days I had kept Guards towards *Conaught*, when *Ireton*, by Treachery of the Officer one Captain *Kelly*, made himself Master of *Bryans-Bridge*. 'Tis called so, though there be no Bridge. Whilst I was hastening with some Troops to oppose, having left the defence of the Pass at *Killallow* to Colonel *Fennel*, he cowardly or Treacherously quitted it, and with all his Party fled into *Limbrick*. Where, upon the rendition of the Town, which was not long after, *Ireton* with more than his ordinary justice, hanged him. Some say he was carried to *Cork*, and that it was done there. He pleaded for his Defence, not only this Service, but how he had betrayed me before *Toughal*. But his Judges would not hear him on his Merit, but bid him clear himself of

of the Murders laid to his charge.

Now receiving Letters from my Lord Deputy, of Sir *Charles Coot* approach; I hastened to him with what Troops I had left, *viz.* about three hundred Horse, and found him drawn into *Logbreah* with his Forces, not being able to keep the Field against *Coot*, who was twice his number. The Enemy did not think fit to attempt him, and were gone by, before my coming. About this time *Athlone* gave up to them: and so did *Limbrick* to *Ireton* some few Months after. In the mean while my Lord Deputy and my self, with what Troops we had, retired towards *Jerchonnoght*, under the Covert of the River that runs by *Galway*: and so shifted up and down, till Sir *Charles Coot* came before the Town on *Logbreahs* side, and had taken a Castle a little above on the River. Then we retired into *Galway*. Where we had not long been, before we heard of the Kings Defeat at *Worcester*.

A man now would think, that this Noble Lord had discharged his part. Yet

his Zeal carried him farther. He dispatch'd me for *France* to the King, by the way of *Iniss-bofin* (for the River of *Galway* was full of Parliament Ships) with orders to set out the ill state of his Majesties Affairs in that Kingdom. And that nevertheless to serve his Majesty, he intended after *Galway* should be lost, to make a Mountain War, and give the Enemy trouble for some time ; if his Majesty would but send him five hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Bullets proportionable, and some Arms, and appointed me to return with them to *Iniss-bofin*, a fit place for our Magazine : it being a large Island, lying off *Jerchonnocht* three Miles into the Sea ; in which we had a strong Garrison. 'Tis surrounded with Rocks : and has but one entrance ; where there is a pretty good Harbour for Frigats and small Men of War. I here Shipped my self, and landed at *Brest*, ordering the Frigate that brought me to expect my orders. The Captain was *Antonio Vandersipp* of *Brugis*. We had a sharp fight with

with an *English* Ship that we met in the way, but foul weather parted us. No great hurt was done, other than that the Bishop of *Down* was Killed in the Cabbin, 'tis thought by the Wind of the Bullet or Fear, for he had not the least sign of any hurt, and lived near a quarter of an hour.

Being Landed, I took post for St. *Germain*, where I found the King, *Queen-Mother* and my Lord of *Ormond*. I delivered my Letters of Credit, and in a day or two had my Audience. They seemed to take it to heart, and Consulted Cardinal *Mazerine*, and the chief Ministers. But the truth of it is, that the King of *France*'s Affairs were at that time so much in disorder, by reason of the Civil War, that nothing could be done. Having this Answer, the King gave me a Letter to my Lord *Deputy*, acknowledging his good Service: ordering him that he should make the best conditions for himself and Party that he could: and expect a better season. Having thus discharged my

Commission, I dismiss'd my Frigate: and with the Kings permission, enga-
ged my self in the Service of the Prince
of *Conde*; who was then joyned with
the *Spaniard*. But first, I sent by a
safe hand his Majesties Letter away to
my good Lord of *Clanrickard*. Of
whom I have said so much already, that
I need add nothing but my own esteem
for his worthy Memory as a pattern of
Loyalty. Between my leaving him,
and his laying down Arms, I can give
no account; but have heard that he was
driven to great extremity.

S E C T. X.

*Some few Reflections more of Castlehaven
on himself. And the last of all is an
acknowledgment of a most extraordi-
nary favour of God to him.*

And so I have done my Story. And
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and Credit than I had amongst the *Irish*; though the War till the *Peace of Forty Six* was almost National. And then they made me what they could, by naming me to remain General of the Horse of the Kingdom, in the Kings Service. Which was a Right leit to them by that *Peace*.

It remains now, that I give those few Reflections more upon my self, which may let the Reader know, to what, next God's blessing, I impute that esteem and fortune I had among the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*.

In my beginning I was a great Party-man. But considering my self and Soldiers but young beginners, I meddled with nothing that was not almost sure: rememb'ring that young Hawks must be entred on weak game.

Having Marshal-law, it was certain Death to take from any of our Friends the worth of a Hen. But withal I had care that my Soldiers should not want.

If any thing happen'd of that kind,

I sent out a Party with a sure Officer, to bring in so many Beefs : and at his return to tell me where he took 'em. Then I issued my Order to the Commissioners, to applot on the County or Barony, from whence the cattle came, their value, and immediately to satisfy the Owners ; which was always allowed out of their Contributions. This I held constantly during the War.

An other of my Rules, no less punctually observed, was, That if by accident any want fell out to be in the Army, I kept no Table, and eat no better than the Soldiers did. Though otherwise, I did generally keep a good Table : and my Officers were welcome to me.

I never took the worth of a crown for my self, either from Country-man, Officer, or Soldier ; but lived still upon my bare Pay. Though the Council never stinted me ; but left me at liberty to take besides, what I should think fit out of the Treasure, that commonly March'd along with the Army, and

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I was a good *Providore*, and had my Magazines well furnished, and seated as I was to make the War. For men eat every day, but Fight seldom.

My Soldiers I called my Children: and really had a Fatherly love and care for them. And they by their duty, bravery, and affection, made me a full return.

I punisht severely; which made my Orders to be well observ'd: and rewarded bountifully, according to my power.

If an Officer, or Soldier, had done a brave Action: I treated the Officer some days at my Table: and took all occasions by talking to improve his glory; and seldom either Officer, or Soldier went without advancement, or other reward.

I made it my business always to March and Encamp so, as not to be engag'd to Fight: without an enemy would come on great disadvantage.

My Intelligence and Spies cost me very dear. But I had good.

Whenever I Fought, or had a mind to Fight; coming in view of the Enemy, and being in order of Battle, I rode to all the Battallions and Squadrons, to observe their looks. And then, with

with a cheerful countenance, acquainting them truly with what I knew of the Enemy, and our Condition, I told them my own opinion for Fighting: and, if they liked it, I would go on; otherwise, not. This I did to engage them in judgment, as well as duty.

I made it my business to get my Troops good Winter-Quarters. But, during the Field, I was very strict in my Musters. And ever and anon, being not in danger of an Enemy, I made the Battallions and Squadrons March by Companies: that I might know their number just. For a General will be cozen'd if he brings his men to Fight on sworn Relations.

I suffer'd no Officer to take from a Soldier the worth of a penny. I do not remember, that, during the time I serv'd the Confederate Catholicks, they ever gave me any Instructions what I should do; but left all to my self. Which made their business go the better.

I shall now conclude these Reflections, with the greatest Reflection of all, which is on my infinite obligation to Almighty God; who hath so protected me, that to this hour, neither in those Wars of *Ireland*, or any other that I have been in since, either Army, or Party of Army, great, or small, was ever beaten so by an Enemy, as to lose their ground to the end of the Fight, where I Commanded in Chief.

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Page 16. Line 16. after Justices.

But was troubled to see nothing but hideous Mountains and Bogs before me, no Guide or Path to lead me, so that day I advanced little, and at night lay in a Wood, where we saw far off some Fires, but near hand, on all sides, we heard the howling of Wolves, and in the morning the hollowing of men one to another, we hollowed likewise, and a Party of the Irish came unto us; the Trooper, who spake their Language, told them who I was, and how I had escaped out of Prison, and desired them to bring us to their Commander, which they did, who used us civilly, and sent us with a Guide to another: Thus from place to place we were conducted to Kilkenny, where being come, I found

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ADDENDA.

that on my Imprisonment *Castlehaven* was Garrisoned by the English, my stock of Sheep and Cattel taken, and my house plundered.

Page 25. Line 1. after marched.

With all care possible, scarce day or night quitting my horse.

Page 37. Line 19. after submitted.

And if a Peace had been concluded in any reasonable time, the mischiefs that followed had been prevented, and the King had been supplied with considerable Forces of both English and Irish.

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Page 50. Line 17. after Convoys.

During this idle time I went often to see my Horse-Quarters, and one day lying down by the *Blackwater* side, and merry with the Officers, a number of the Horsemen came about me,

Now I must to Kilkenny, of Peace goin such opposi would return About the mi Renucceni, A

ADDENDA.

me, and I, in a pleasant way, asked them what they would give me to bring them to a days work with the Enemy: They answered, they should be glad to see it, if I could make their Doublets and Skins proof against Lances, of which the Scots had many Squadrons. Having found this apprehension, I pass'd off the discourse, and returning to my Camp, that night dispatch'd an express to my Magazine at *Wexford* to bring me thence so many defensive Arms as might cover two Ranks of my Horse, which being come, and I growing every day more uneasy than other, for

Page 70. Line 5. after am.

Now I must tell you, that coming to *Kilkenny*, and finding the Treaty of Peace going slowly on, and with much opposition, I quitted, and would return no more into *Munster*. About the middle of this Campaign *Renucci*, Archbishop and Prince of

ADDENDA.

Fermo, arrived in the West of this Province, sent by Pope *Innocent X.* as his Nuncio to the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*; but coming near the Coast, he was chased by a Parliament Frigat, Commanded by one *Plunket*, and as he was ready to lay him on Board, to the great misfortune of the Confederate Catholicks, and many other good Interests, *Plunkets* Kitchin Chimney took fire, which to quench he was forced to lie by, in the mean time the Nuncio got the shore.

Page 102. Line 15. after *Carick*.

But *Cromwel*, for his better security, left Collonel *Reynolds* with a great Party of Horse and Foot in *Carick* to to keep the Town and the Bridge; my Lord Lieutenant came before this place with his Armies, but before he attempted any thing, was called away on an Alarm that *Waterford* was in danger, so left the Command of his Troops

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Troops to the Lord *Inchequin* and Lord *Taffe*, who immediately gave order to storm the place, which was done with great bravery. Now it was my fortune to come as this begun, not having been with the Army in many weeks before, and putting my self in a convenient place to see, it beginning to be dark, Collonel *John Bary* stumbled upon me, and kept me company; after a little time hearing a great shout, he asked me what I thought of the matter? I answered, that I hoped our people were entred; he smiled, saying, you know the Town hath a stone Wall, and round Towers, how should men enter having neither Ladders, Crow of Iron, Pickax, or any other thing else to make a breach: This being true, after losing some hundreds of brave men, the Army had order to draw off, leaving *Reynolds* to do what he thought fit, which was soon to follow *Cromwell* into the County of *Cork*.

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Advertisement.

I Can find no body that will own to be the Author of the Printing a Letter, intituled, From a Person of Honour in the Country, written to the Earl of Castlehaven, being Observations and Reflections upon his Lordships Memoires concerning the Wars of Ireland; so I shall not trouble my self about it other than to confess that I did receive a Letter from a Person of Honour, written as he said in the Country, but he himself delivered it to me in London, and I have it by me, it contains much of what is set forth in the Print.

At the time I received it, the Person of Honour and my self had much discourse on the most material points, and since that time we talked no more of it.

Now the Noble Person who wrote to me absolutely denies that he ever ordered, or was privy to the Printing his Letter,

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or knew any thing of the Printed Postscript, it being most malicious and false, as his Lordship and many other Noble Persons know, for he hath a former Letter of mine in answer of one he wrote to me, wherein he desired me to send him a Book, intituled my Memoires, wherein I disavowed any such Memoires to have been published by me, or by my knowledge; yet I sent him the Book I thought he meant, and told him how I came by it, and the great trouble I had to see my Papers, though Printed, exposed in a Book before I had well perused them, and finished what I intended to write; and that I had fallen out with the Book-seller on this point, who had engaged himself not to let my Papers to be seen; but seeing no remedy, all I could do was to stop the going forth of any more, till at least the Preface to the Reader went out with it: Thus you see how my Memoires came out imperfect, without the Appendix, which was also designed, and other things, some few I now thrust in by way of Addenda's.

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AN APPENDIX.

N the Year 1638. being at *Rome*, I received a Letter from the late King *Charles the First*, requiring me to attend him in his Expedition against the *Scots*, then revolted and in Arms ; Two days after I took Post for *England*, and near *Turin* fell into an Army Commanded by the Marquess *de Leganes*, Gouvernour of *Milan* for the King of *Spain*, who was marching to joyn another Army, then besieging that place : But soon the Siege was raised, and I went into the Town, where I found her Royal Highness the Dutchess of *Savoy* in great disorder, as if she had got no

A rest

rest in many nights; I taking leave of her she gave me a Musket Bullet, much battered, to deliver to her Sister the Queen of *England*, that came in at her Window, and missed her narrowly.

Arriving at *London*, I followed the King to *Berwick*, who I found encamped with a brave Army near it, the River of *Tweed* before him for the number, to this hour I never saw a better; as I was told and believe, it could not be less than sixteen or seventeen Thousand Horse and Foot, with a good Train of Artillery. Soon after my Arrival there was a Pacification, the next day I dined with *Lesly* General of the *Scots*, he shewed me his Army in Battalia, in number about ten or twelve thousand Horse and Foot, but as to the Horses and Arms, the twentieth man could not have passed Muster amongst any Armies I have since seen.

After this I passed my time as well as I could at home, till in the year 1640.

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An Appendix.

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the King of *France* besieged *Arras*; on the news I went for *Bruxels*, and thence followed the Prince Cardinal (*Gouvernour of the Low-Countries*) whom I found at *Doway*, his Army intrenched near the Town, expecting the coming up of others, especially the Troops of the Emperour, commanded by *Lamboy*, and those of *Lorraine*, by the Duke of *Lorain* himself; All being arrived, the whole Army marched, and coming to *Monte St. Aloy*, near the Enemies Line, encamped on the height by it: Many great Parties were sent out for the cutting off Convoys, but they came so strong that little good was done upon them. The King of *France* being at *Amiens*, who took care of all whilst Monsieur *Millerie*, grand Master *de l' Artillery*, prest the Siege; much time was trifled in this manner by the Spaniards, at length they attacked the Line, but were beaten off; then jealousies and discontents began amongst the great ones, which daily

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encreased, and the *Band d' Ordinance* beaten, where their Lieutenant General, the Count *de Bossue*, was killed; The hopes of raising the Siege grew desperate, and at length the Town was rendred to the French, (*Owen Roe Oneal*, afterwards General of the Province of *Ulster* for the Irish in *Ireland*, commanded within) The blame of not succouring this place was laid on *Don Philip de Silva*, Gouvernour of Arms under the Prince Cardinal; he was afterwards made Prisoner in *Spain* on that suspition, as having betrayed the Undertaking, but was after released, laying the blame on the first Minister, that then governed that Monarchy under the King, as having done all by his Orders, being the *Conde Duke*.

After seeing this Action, I returned for *England*, and went thence for *Ireland*, where I had some Estate, and whilst I was there, broke forth the Rebellion of 1641. which kept me in War and trouble till the peace of

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An Appendix.

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1646. then I went for *France*, as is seen in the *Memoires*.

Coming to *Paris*, and hearing that *Landrisie* was besieged by Duke *Leopoldus*, Governour of the *Low Countries*, and that a French Army was gone to the Succour, I had the curio-
sity to see that Action; so I bought horses and followed; being come to the Army, in two or three days after we im battled before the Line, and so near, that the Enemies Canon killed many men and horses in our secoud Line; I was in the first Line, a right-
hand man, in Prince *Roberts* Troop, commanded by Captain *Somerset Fox*, the Prince serving as Lieutenant General: Now it beginning to be dark, all were fitted for Attacking the Line, and just as we expected the word to advance and fall on, we had Orders to retreat in the silentest manner pos-
sible, without the least touch of Drum or Trumpet: However the Enemy discovering it, came out, and did us some mischief in the Rear, and would

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have done more, if Prince *Robert*, that commanded it, had not acted his part well; by what I could hear as cause of this sudden change, the two Marshals, *Gation* and *Ranso*, that commanded, could not agree on the work they had in hand.

I returned for *Paris*, remained there, attending the Queen and Prince of *Wales* Orders, then at *St. Germain*, till the year 1648. then I went for *Ireland* with the Marquess of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant there, serving the King against the *Nuncio*, *Cromwel*, and other the Kings Enemies, till 1651. that all was lost, *Cromwel* Conquerour of the three Kingdoms, and the King fled into *France*, whither I followed, and with his Majesties leave, engaged in the Prince of *Condes* service (then joyned with the Spaniards) first, for a Troop of *Gen d' Armes*; soon after, for a Regiment of Horse, but neither were ever mounted, though I had the men ready in *Paris*, as was ordered. Whilst I was thus,

thus, I came soon enough to the Rampart to see some part of the fight in the Suburbs of St. *Anthony*, which begun early in the morning the second of July 1652, the King of *France* looking on from the Hill of *Saronne*. The Prince of *Conde* hardly had time to Baracado the Avenues when he was Attacked by Monsieur *de Turain* commanding the Kings Army, with a force three times in number more than his; the fight was very bloudy, and had been fatal to the Confederates, had not the Activity besides the valour and conduct of this brave Prince prevented it by riding from Barrier to Barrier, where his were most pressed; thus he entertained the fight till about Noon, that by means of *Madamoiselle d'Orleans*, the Gate of St. *Antoine* was opened for their retreat into the City; after this the Confederates had all freedom in *Paris* till about the twelfth of October 1652. The Prince of *Conde*, Duke of *Lorain*, and the rest of the Confederates left *Paris*,

and that night came to their Army at *Dammartin*, and took their march towards *La Ferte, Moline, and Fines*, I marched with them, though as a single man.

The first places the Prince of *Conde* took (these Troops joyned) were *Ratele*, which he besieged the twenty seventh of *October 1652*. took the Outworks the twenty eighth, the Town the twenty ninth, and the Castle the second of *November*, the Gouvernour Monsieur *Rale*. *Chasteau Porfigne* yielded the twenty eighth of *October*, making little resistance. Near about the same time St. *Menehout* was invested, the Prince of *Conde* and Duke of *Lorain* commanding, and rendred the thirteenth of *November 1652*. St. *Maure* Commander. This place cost dear both in men and time by the mistake of the true Attack, which discovered, and the Batteries changed, did not resist twelve hours.

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About the same time the Duke of *Orleans* Troops left us, the Duke having made his peace.

The twenty third of *November* 1652. the Prince took *Barleduke* after some days Siege, and a breach made, Monsieur *de Fouge*, Lieutenant General of the *Lorain* Army, was there killed with a Musket shot, viewing the breach. *Comercy* Castle and Town about the same time surrendered to the Prince without much trouble.

The Castle of *Voyd* after some days Siege was the ninth of *December* yielded to the Prince.

Now the Marshal *de Turen*, having gotten a good Army together, came near us, and besieged *Barleduke*, which in a few days he regained; and whilst this was doing, surprized the Town of *Comercy*, where my self with many others were taken Prisoners, but the Count *de Fiesque*, who commanded, being in the Castle maintained it. Monsieur *Marole*, Gouvernour of *Tunville*,

Turville, who did this feat, the next day brought me to the quarter of Monsieur *de la Ferte*, who gave me leave on my Parol to visit the Duke of *York* in the quarter of Monsieur *de Turain*; his Royal Highness at my request got me to be exchanged, so I returned to the Prince, and the Officer exchanged went to the Marshal *de la Ferte*, of whose Army he was. This Campaign ended with our having taken *Verruins*, which was the twenty ninth of January 1652.

The twenty third of April 1653. the Prince of *Conde* arrived in *Brux-els*, and was lodged in the Palace.

The Campaign following opened in the Siege of *Rocroy* the fifth of September 1653. the seventh the Line of Circumvallation was begun, and finished the twelfth, the Trenches opened the eleventh; the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Germans* had each an Attack, the twenty second the three Nations were lodged on the Counterscarp, sharp Sallies were made, with some loss

loss to the Besiegers, however they held their ground, and fastned a Miner or two to one of the Bastions, which were ready to Spring the twenty sixth ; the next night the Mines were sprung, and a breach made in the face of the Bastion, something too near the Point ; however our People lodged themselves, and the Enemy entrenched in the Bastion, but not being able to make it good, the Garrison much weakned with the loss of men killed and hurt, the first of October 1653. the place was rendred ; I never knew Bombes annoy any place so much as this. From the first day of this Siege to the last nothing but rain, with ill weather ; and that which was worse, the Prince of Conde desperately sick all the time, however though he lay in his Bed, nothing of consequence was done but by his advice. Duke *Leopoldus* commanding in chief, the Governoour of the place was the *Chevalier Montague*, who as I remember was brought out wounded : The Duke

Duke of *Lorains* Troops, commanded by the Count of *Luniville* assisted in this Siege, at which the Duke seemed to be ill pleased, for he was angry with *Luniville*, and rebuked him severely.

The twenty fifth of *February* 1654. the Duke of *Lorain* being in *Bruxels*, and his Army near the Town, was Arrested by the Count *de Garrsie Maſtre de Camp* General, so ordered by Duke *Leopoldus*, and convoyed to the Castle of *Antwerp*: But Prince *Francoys of Lorain*, being at *Vienna*, was sent for, which appeased the Officers, especially when he arrived at *Bruxels*, which was the ninth of *May* following. All this time, besides the quality of Marshal *de Camp*, I had the particular command of nine or ten Regiments of *Irish*, making five thousand men; and the Campaign coming on, the Prince ordered me to make a detachment of a thousand of the choice men I had, dividing them into fifties, commanded

by

by Lieutenants, only one fifty might have a Captain, and then to deliver them to the Count *de Briole*, Marshal *de Camp*; which I did, though with much murmur of the Collonels, and other Officers, concluding never to see their men again, which fell out true, being to be sent far off, as to *Clermont*, *Steny*, and other places.

This Campaign began with the King of *Frances* besieging *Steny*, which he did the ninth of *June 1654*. the third or fourth of *July* the Trenches were opened, the Circumvallation finished in the first five or six days. The Spaniards thought to raise this Siege by Attacking another place, and besieged *Arras*, investing it the third of *July 1654*. Monsieur *Mondieu* Governor; the Lines of Circumvallation finished the ninth, not so large by two Leagues as when the French took it: The twelfth or thirteenth the Trenches were opened; though the Chevalier *de Crequi* with two or three hundred Horse had entred the Town,

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the sixth or seventh of July some other attempts were made to put in succour, but none hit to any purpose ; it is certain the Army was no way provided or sufficient for the work, to man so large a Line, and furnish the Attacks ; which were two, one the Spaniards, the other the Prince of *Conde*. The *Lorainers*, commanded by Prince *Francoys* had no Attack, the ground was such that the Ditch of the Line in most places could hardly be made of any depth ; to supply which defects, eight or ten rows of great holes were made before it, with Stakes like Pallisads beaten into them ; whilst we were now carrying on our Attacks, with much Art and Valour, Monsieur *de Turain* with a small Army posted himself at *Montriporeux*, and *Vittry*, about a League from our Line, almost in the way to *Doway*, from whence much of our Provisions and other things came ; but when *Steny* was yielded, being the sixth of *August*, the Count *de Camillie* Governour, and the

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the Marques *de Fabert* commanding the Army; The King with his Army marched and posted himself near Mount St. *Aloye*, not far from our Line, so, that in truth we were in a manner now besieged; but quickly put out of our pain, for soon after, being the twenty fourth or twenty fifth of *August*, an hour before day, our Line was Alarmed round, Attacked really in two or three places, and forced in a short time: Thus *Arras* was relieved, and our Army retreated to *Cambray*; after this *Quenoy* yield to the *French*, so this Field ended.

I do not remember any thing remarkable that passed in the year 1655. But the fifteenth of *June* 1656. Monsieur *de Turain* invested *Valencennes*, to the succour of which *Don John* Governor of the *Low-Countries*, having gotten his Army together, marched; The Prince of *Conde* with his Army joyned, they posted themselves the first of *July* at *Farmars*, a League from

from the Town, (and very near the Enemies Line) where they intrenched ; The twenty eighth of *June* the French opened their Trenches with two Attacks from the two Armies, of *Turain* and *la Ferte* ; much scuffling there was at this Siege between the Town and the Enemy, many brave Sallies made, and as gallantly opposed, several Works taken by the French, and regained by the Garrison. The Governour, the Duke of *Bonneville*, caused Sluces to be opened, which raised waters in the Enemies Camp, and much hindered the Communication between the two Armies of *Turain* and *la Ferte* ; till one morning at the usual hour, being the sixteenth of *July*, *Don John*, and the Prince of *Conde* fell on the Enemies Line, alarming it on all sides, and where they Attacked it really entred, though it cost much bloud on both sides ; many Prisoners were taken of the French, one of which was the Marshal *de la Ferte* ; *Valenciennes* thus relieved.

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The twenty first of July 1656. the Spaniards and Prince of *Conde* blocked *Conde*, Monsieur *de Passage* Gouvernour ; The eighth of *August* they finished their Line of Circumvallation, and the place being vigourously Attacked, was rendred the seventeenth of *August*. Here ended this Campaign.

The next Field was begun by the same Prince and Army, besieging *St. Gilaine* the sixteenth of *March* 1657. Monsieur *de Chomburge* Gouvernour ; the Story is not worthy to be remembred, but the place was rendred the twenty second of *March*. Soon after, being the twenty eighth of *May* 1657. the Marshal *de Turain* invested *Cambray*, and took his Posts for the Siege, but the Prince of *Conde* being at *Bosu*, near *Monts*, marched immediately with four thousand Horse, and the twenty ninth in the Evening came near the Camp of the Enemy ; the chief Commanders with him were Monsieur *Persan*, *Botevile*, *Mille*,

Colinie, Gitto, Lieutenant Generals; Romainville, d' Yenne, Marshals de Camps; and the next morning, an hour before day, fell on Monsieur *de Turrain's* Quarters, broke into the Town, and relieved it: However the French lost no courage, but the twenty sixth of *August* following besieged *St. Venant*, and about the same time *Don John*, the Duke of *York*, and Prince of *Conde* besieged *Ardares*; and for the better dispatch, the twenty eighth they made a general assault, taking all the Out-works, and fastned Miners to the Walls in three places, but *St. Venant* yielding sooner than was expected, the Princes were inforced to raise their Siege.

Mardike was besieged by the French the twenty ninth of *September 1657.* and taken in five days.

The next Campaign began the fourteenth of *May 1658.* when the Marshal *d' Anmont*, attempting to gain *Ostend* by Intelligence and surprisal, was taken himself in his own Net, the

the particular Relation is pleasant, but it having been often Printed, Ile let it alone. Now though this Marshal of *France* fell into this misfortune, Monsieur *de Turain*, did abundantly recover the honour, losing no time, for the twenty fourth of *May* 1658. he besieged *Dunkirke*, *Don John*, the Duke of *York*, and Prince of *Conde*, with all the force they could make, came to the succour, and it seems with confidence that *Turain* durst not appear without his Line, for otherwise they would not have come near so ill provided, most of their Horse being gone to forrage, or scattered up and down, and their Canon not arrived: But Monsieur *de Turain* failed them, for knowing they came from *Furnes*, he marched to meet them; on the Downs thus they encountered the fourteenth of *June* 1658. and after much fighting the honour of the Field remained to the French; yet the Town held stoutly though the Succours were beaten, for it never capi-

tulated till the fourteenth of *July* that their brave Governour, the Marques *de Lede*, was wounded mortally, of which he died, so the Town yielded the same day.

The French being in this humour of Conquering, Monsieur *la Ferte* besieged *Graveling* the twenty seventh or twenty eighth of *July* 1658. it capitulated the twenty eighth of *August*, and was rendred the next day.

The French Courage did not rest here, for soon after the Prince *de Line*, General of the King of *Spain*, his Army being routed near *Ipres*, he with his Guards, and some other Troops, saved themselves in the Town, on which the French besieged them, and in four or five days the Town was yielded, being the twenty fourth of *September*.

The twenty seventh of *October* 1658. the French took *Comines*, which made good resistance.

Now

Now a suspension of Arms, concluded the ninth of *May* 1659. being followed, with the *Pyrenean* peace signed the seventh of *November* 1659. put an end to the War, which had so long raged.

After this there being no more War, but on the contrary a settled quiet in this part of the world; I followed the King and his Court till the year 1667, that the French invaded *Flanders*, then I was sent thither by his Majesty with 2400. men, a Recruit for the old English Regiment, of which I was made Collonel, and about the fifteenth of *June* 1667. with some of them landed at *Ostend*, the rest soon following; these men were immediately thrown into Towns, as *Newport*, *Lille*, *Courtray*, *Andenard*, &c, but before my coming, the King of *France* had seised *Armentiers*, as it was demolishing, the twenty fourth of *May* 1667. keeping the Governour and most of the Garrison Prisoners of War; he likewise the eleventh of

June 1667. layed hold of *Charleroy* before it was fully fortified and manned. The fifteenth of *June* the King seized *Aeth*, and *Tournay* he invested the twenty first of *June*, rendred the twenty fourth. The first of *July* he besieged *Doway*, and the Fort of *St. Antoine* on the Scarp rendred, the Town yielded the sixth to Monsieur *de Turain*. Till about this time the Spaniards did not know themselves absolutely to be in War, for their Troops often met the French, and parted as friends.

The eighteenth of *July* 1667. *Caurtry*, with the Cittadel, was taken by the French, having made resistance for some days. *Andenard* was taken by the French the first of *August*, with little resistance.

The fifth of *August* the King of *France*, having for some days attempted the taking of *Dermond*, left it after the loss of many men, as reported: But the King soon after besieged *Lille*, opened the Trenches before it the

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the nineteenth of *August*, yielded the twenty seventh; the Count *de Brueix* *Governour*.

The Count *de Marcine*, *Maister de Camp*, General for the King of *Spain*, was at this time in *Ipers* with a considerable body of Horse, and some Foot, of which I had six or seven hundred of my Regiment, he pretending to succour the place, but on the news of its rendition he marched away with all his Horse, hoping to recover *Gaunt*, but whether by reason of the ill ways, and foul weather, or other hindrances came short, for the French Horse were gotten before him, and encamped near *Marykirke*, not far from the Town, one *Holland* side of the cut River that goes between *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, and the thirty one of *August* early in the morning (having no right intelligence of the Enemy) fell in amongst the French Horse; thus surprised, and marching on Dikes, he was enforced to fight for it, and as men catched, in

this manner, after some dispute, was routed, many of his men and Officers killed, and taken Prisoners, himself narrowly escaping. The French thus encouraged fell on *Alost*, midway between *Bruxels* and *Gaunt*, and after several assaults, it was rendred the ninth or tenth of *September* 1667.

Now to save what was left of the *Low-Countries*, there was no other remedy (for Army we had none) but by the mediation of the neighbour Princes to gain a suspension of Arms, published the sixth of *March* 1668. and was to hold till the last of the Month ; then there was a second Suspension of Arms, which begun the fifteenth of *April* following, and was to last to the end of *May* : But the Peace of *Aix la Chapel* concluded the second of *May* following, put an end to our trouble.

Now by what you have heard, and that soon after was done in *Holland*, the King of *France* remained with a compleat right to the saying of *Veni, Vidi, Vici.*

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Since the Peace of *Aix*, the Spanish *Netherlands* enjoyed a shew of quietness, till about the fourth of *October* 1673. Then at a meeting between the Count *de Montrey*, Gouvernour of the *Low-Countries*, and the Prince of *Orange*, at a Village near *Antwerp*, called *Galmethaut*, within half a League of the Priory of *Huybergnen*, Spain was engaged in a new War against the French, both Parties seeming inclined to a breach. I do not know all the reasons, but for a long time each complained of Infractions: The French, that the Spaniards had assisted the Prince of *Orange* in his attempt for the surprize of *Charleroy*, in which he failed, sent of their Troops to man certain Towns, belonging to the States of *Holland*, as *Bolduque*, *Bergin-opsome*, and other places; that their Troops were assisting the Prince of *Orange*, in the taking of *Narden* near *Amsterdam*, &c.

The Spaniards complained that the Kings Countreys were eaten up and destroyed

destroyed, by the marching of French Troops through them, especially when the King of *France* with his Army entred about *Bruges* and *Gaunt*, marching at discretion, fearing no Enemy till he came to *Bruxels*, where he encamped on all sides several days. After this refreshment he continued his March to *Maestricht*, which he besieged the eleventh of *June 1673*. and took it the thirtieth. That the Prince of *Conde* had for several Weeks lain with an Army, eating and destroying the Country of *Alost*, belonging to the King of *Spain*, and did not quit it till the tenth of *October 1673*. two or three days after the War brake forth between the two Crowns. Much more was said on both sides.

Now on the breaking out of this new War, the Marshal *de Belfond*, who commanded for the King of *France* in *Holland*, had order to draw all his Forces thence, and march to *Maestricht*.

Then

Then the Count *de Montry*, fearing that he would take *Ruremond* in his way, sent me to command, there being General *de Battlé*; But the Marshal spared me, and piked up *Erklares*, a small Town two Leagues from me, seated on the *Rore*; being passed, he joyned the Prince of *Conde* near *Maestricht*, and alarmed *Stevenswert*, a regular place and tenable, when there is no want within it; In an hours time received two Orders from the Count *de Montry*, brought by two Reformed Officers, sent express, requiring me on sight to march with five hundred of the *Germans*, in Garrison with me, and to endeavour the getting into *Stevenswert*, where I was to command, and if I were worsted in the Attempt, to save my self, and such as remained after the fight to *Venlow*. I received these Orders as I was at Dinner, about one of the Clock, and got into the place with my men by six of the Clock that Evening, though it were three or four Leagues, for the

place

Then

place was not invested, as the Count *de Montry* thought; however these Armies kept us in doubt four or five days, till at length, having taken the Castle of *Argento*, they besieged *Navy*, the twentieth of *May* 1674. a Fort belonging to the King of *Spain*, on the River *Meux*, seated between *Liege* and *Maestricht*, it was rendred the twenty third of *May*. After this, having trifled much time in marching up and down, the Prince of *Conde* with his Army came to *Pieton*, a strong Post in its nature by reason of the two Rivers of *Samber* and *Pieton*, but withal he was strongly intrenched, and had much Canon on his Batteries, and Cavaliers.

About the fifteenth of *July* 1674. *Dinant* with the Castle was surprised by the Imperialists, commanded by the Count *de Souch*, and the twenty second of *July* following they passed the *Meux* near *Namurs* to joyn the Prince of *Orange*, and other the Confederates. Now all being together, after

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after several Campings they came to *Nivel*, hoping to draw the Prince of *Conde* from his Entrenchments to a fair Battel, shewing themselves in Battel before him. Several days passed thus, then they marched from *Nivel* the ninth of *August*, and the next day encamped at *Scneff*, *Jeluy*, and other places thereabouts; all this while the Enemy never appeared, though by coming near many occasions were offered. Seeing nothing could prevail, the eleventh of *August* 1674. the Prince of *Orange*, with the Confederates, very early in the Morning marched off, intending to encamp between *Marymont* and *Binch*: But being to pass within a little League of the Enemies Camp, they made a detachment of five thousand Horse and Dragoons, for the better security of the Rear. In the march the Imperialists had the Van-guard, the Hollanders the Battel, the Spaniards, consisting of sixteen Squadrons of Horse; The Rear-guard having marched some

some time in this manner, about ten or eleven a Clock in the Morning, being *Saturday*, the Enemy began to appear, attacking the Rear, and, though well disputed, carried all before them for some hours, till the Germans turned, and joyned with some of the Holland-Army not broken, gave a stop to this furious beginning, and brought it to a bloody Battel, the fortune of which seemed to change; both sides bragged of Victory: The Fight ended *Sunday-morning*, and that night the Confederates encamped where they were to have been the night before: And the Prince of *Conde* returned to his retrenchments at *Pieton*.

The Prince of *Orange* being a stranger, and not knowing the Country, left himself and Army to be guided by some of the Spanish Generals, that knew the Country, who brought him so near the Prince of *Conde's* retrenchment, that in going off his Rear must be exposed, yet not so much if he had taken

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taken his march more on the right hand, by which he had left some difficulties or strait ways between him & the enemy, but in the morning marching the strait way, he gave so much invitation for the enemy to fall on his Rear, and next day after the Battel. The Prince complained much, and falls very heavy on the Generals who advised this march, but it was too late.

These were the most powerful Armies that had been seen in these Countries in many years. I believe the Confederates did much pass in number, though the Prince of *Conde's* Army in most mens judgments exceeded forty thousand Horse and Foot; the report of the slain and wounded is very various, but they may be taken at eight thousand of both sides; I know not which lost most, but the quality exceeded the number; amongst other brave men were slain the Marquess *de Ascentar*, Master *de Camp*, General for the Spaniards, and Sir *Walter Vane*,

Major

Major General, serving the Hollan-
ders.

The Prince of *Orange* after this Battel of *Seneff* lost no time, for the seventeenth of *September* following he had formally besieged *Audenard* (the Sieur *de Rospuine* Governour) and having much advanced his Trenches, had notice of the Prince of *Condé* approach, with his Army increased, the Marshal *de Humers* having joyned to him eight or ten thousand men; on this the Confederates drew most of their men out of the Attacks, but remained within the Line until next morning, and then with the favour of a dark Mist quitted all, and left the Siege, and got to *Gaunt*, I know not how, but certainly in a great confusion, after the loss of many men; much blame was laid on the Count *de Souch*; whether he were faulty or no, he soon with his Army returned for *Germany*, and the Prince of *Orange* posted for *Grave* (long besieged by General *Ravenholt*, a *Holland* Com-
mander,) a twenty seco Army of the ders, and re try. The King Campaign the Siege of *Lin Orange*, and L Governor c embled their marched in a hough in mi ssed the M before they c amp, the pl e twentieth pod defence. Governor of The Army of battered, and errible a Mar lerscot encamp or a long tim relshed and r eir march t

mander,) and took it. About the twenty second of October 1674. the Army of the States General left *Flanders*, and returned to their Country.

The King of *France* began the Campaign the year 1675. with the Siege of *Limburg*: The Prince of *Orange*, and Duke of *Villa hermosa*, then Governour of the *Low-Countries*, assembled their Armies near *Lovain*, and marched in all haste to its succour, though in miserable weather: They passed the *Meuse* at *Roermond*; but before they could arrive at the Enemy-Camp, the place was yielded, being the twentieth of June, after a very good defence, the Prince of *Nassau* Governour of it, and the Province. The Army of the Confederates much shattered, and in disorder with so terrible a March, being returned to *Aerscot* encamped there, and near about for a long time, till being well refreshed and recovered, they began their march towards *Monts*; and

C *Binch,*

Binch, without the Armies coming to it, yielded to a Party, sent by the Prince of *Orange*, the last of *August* 1675.

The Campaign of the year 1676. began with the King of *Frances* besieging *Conde*, which he did the nineteenth of *April*. The Prince of *Orange*, and Duke of *Villa hermosa*, marched to its succour, but coming near found it rendred, the twenty fifth of the same Month, not being able to resist longer the several assaults the French made.

The King of *France* not contending himself with *Conde*, sent his Brother the Duke of *Orleans* and the Marshal *de Crequi* to besiege *Bouchain*, which they did *May 5. 1676.* and the King to cover the Siege encamped at *Keverine* facing towards *Monts*, the River before him. On this intelligence some days after, the Prince of *Orange*, and Duke of *Villa hermosa*, being with their Army encamped near *Monts*, marched, and on Bridges of Boats, before

fore day, passed *l' Escalte*, within Cannon shot of *Conde*, leaving it on the left hand ; and not losing time, about ten or eleven of the Clock that morning, being the ninth of *May*, gained the height between *Valenciennes* and the *Abbey of Bone Esperance* ; but coming there, we found the King of *France* on a height embattelling his Army before us, about half a League distant, all plain between the two Armies, and just in the way between us and *Bouchain* ; so near we were, that the Canon killed from one Army to the other. Thus posted, those that were not of the great Council thought of nothing but immediately to fall on, and I my self was one of those, for it being my fortune that Campaign to command the King of *Spains Foot*, I made many Speeches to them, preparing them to Battel, fitting them with Powder, and all things needful : But the day passed, we lay by our Arms all night, and in the morning had Orders to encamp, throwing up a

Line before us ; *Bouchain* (Monsieur *Drouhle* Governour) seeing this succour did his part ; at last, being over-pressed, the place yielded the twelfth or thirteenth of *May* ; yet the King, at the head of his Army, stood facing us five or six days, till *Bouchain* was put in order, and all Lines and Trenches were levelled : Then the nineteenth of *May*, before day, after his Drums and Trumpets had done their parts, he marched off from his Camp, at the Farm of *Hurtisbe*, and that night encamped near *Bouchain*, the next day marched for *Doway*. These Armies were very strong, but as I judged by the Campment of the French Army, which I viewed after they were gone, that the King of *Frances* Army was much more in Horse than we were, and I think as many Foot, not counting the Army with the Duke of *Orleans* ; and I am assured they were not lessened by so long lying near neighbours with us.

After

After this the Prince of Orange marched from his Camp of *Mon d' Aunfin* near *Valenciennes* the twenty first of *May*, and after several Campments came to *Nivelle*, from whence, the eighth of *July* with a detachment of his Army, and some others that met him, the eleven or twelfth of *July* invested *Maestricht*, the nineteenth the Lines of Circumvallation were finished, and the twentieth he began to make use of his Canon, opening his Trenches by two Attacks, one was the Bishop, Prince of *Osnaburgs*; the other the Prince of Oranges own; *Wick*, on the other side of the *Meuse* was not attacked. Now whilst this Siege was carrying on, the Duke of *Villa hermosa* marched with the Army of *Holland* and his own, encamping the twenty sixth of *July* at *Mary-kirke*, having passed *Gaunt*; *Aire* having been besieged for some days by the Marshal *de Humers*, the Duke marched to *Deinse*, where he heard that the Fort *Linke* was taken, and

Soon after *Aire*; the cause given why this strong place held out no better, is, that a Magazine of Powder blew up by some accident, on which the Burgers (more strong than the Garrison) seized the Gouvernour, the Marquis *de Wany*, and compelled him to demand a Treaty.

This having broken the Dukes measures, for he designed to have ventured for the succour of *Aire*; his Excellence marched immediately, following the Count *de Waldike*, who was gone before him with the *Holland* Army, and camped between *Lovain* and *Bruxels*, his Excellence encamped near *Machlin*, but the twentieth of *August* he left his Camp, and in some days both the Armies came to *Tongres*; and soon after appeared the Van of the French Army, so that he had no more time than to call a Council of War, where having heard the relation, given by Count *de Waldike*, newly come from the Siege, not being above two Leagues distance, unanimously all

all gave their opinions for the present raising the Siege, and that the Duke and *Waldike* should let the Prince know so much: Accordingly the next day the Siege was raised, the Enemy putting in succour by the way of *Wick*. The Prince then drawing off, all our Armies being joyned, were put in Battel on a height, about half a League from the Line, but Monsieur *de Schomberg*, having relieved the place, marched another way, and encamped that night on the hill of *St. Peters*. I was in the Trenches before the Siege was raised, but did not judg the Town so pressed as was generally said, without it had some want within, that I knew not, for there were many hard Pieces to be gained before Miners could be fastned to the Wall, or any Attackable breach could be made with Canon. This was by much the bloudiest Siege that ever I saw: The *Reingrave*, with a great part of the men that made the Princes Court, were killed, and more hurt; the

Prince himself shot in the Arm, all the Regiments strangely diminished, the Canon was lost, for coming from *Holland* by the River of *Meux*, when it was pretty full, now it being much fallen, could not be brought off. By what I saw of the Line of Circumvallation, I would rather have chosen to fight in a plain field than behind it, for it was not of strength sufficient; neither was the Army of force to man it, and go on with their Attacks, without the Prince had drawn into his Line the Army commanded by the Duke of *Villa hermosa* and *Waldike*, that possibly might have changed the Scene, though the Communication would have been very hard, between them of *Wick* side, with those before *Maestricht*, because of the River *Meuse*, which above and below must have been passed on Bridges of Boats; from the first of the Siege I never heard the Garrison counted at less than five or six thousand men; I shall not venture to give a judgment of the men killed and

and wounded, but certainly the number was great. The dividing the Army was in my opinion ill advised, neither party being of strength to do the work designed for it, whereas united it might have either carried *Maestricht*, or hindred the taking any other place: And for all the Princes exposing himself and Army to the uttermost of danger, himself wounded in the Arm, yet some there were that did not afford him a good word, but the contrary. After the raising this Siege the Prince of *Orange* sought by all means to engage the French in a Battel, yet about the seventh of September 1675. Monsieur *Schomburge* passed the River of *Mahaine* in our view of the right Wing uninterrupted, but the Prince was in the left Wing near a League distance, and hardly knew any thing till all was past. About three days after, the Prince and Duke of *Villahermosa* incamped the Army about *Giblow*, the quarter of the Court in the Town, and Monsieur *de Shom-*

Schomburge with his Army, about a League from us, in a fast Country, but very great Plains just before him. The next morning early the Prince put his Army in battel on this Plain, in sight, and very near the Enemy, but Schomburge stirred not. Now after some hours, wearied with standing, the Prince with his Army marched off, leaving the Spaniards and Germans in Rear; which soon after it began to move, Monsieur Montal, with a great body of Horse and Dragoons marched through Giblow, from whence we parted, and fell on in the Flank and Rear, doing some mischief, causing great confusion among us; and had this Party been well seconded by Monsieur Schomburge, it might have proved a second Seneff; for the Prince of Orange with his Army was far off, and many of his Horses gone to forrage. In a day or two after the Prince went for the Hague, and the Duke of Villa hermosa with Waldike marched to Werser, in order to

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This year 1677. the Field opened with the Count *de Nancres* attacking the Fort, called the three holes near *Vilvorde*, on the cut River that goes between *Bruxels* and *Antwerp*, but was beaten off the twenty fourth of *February*.

The sixth or seventh of *March*, *Valenciennes* was besieged by the King of *France*, opened his Trenches the ninth, and the seventeenth the Town was taken by assault about nine of the clock in the morning; The Story strange, for half an hour before this accident, and the eighth day the Trenches opened, the Enemy had not gained a foot of ground; The French entred by the Gates, which they found open, for the Governour, the Marquess of *Risburge*, a brave Souldier, was in his bed dangerously wounded, and the Town governed by a Council of War. Thus encouraged, the King besieged *Cambray* about the last of

of March following, and the third or fourth of April the Town yielded; after the Garrison, by Orders of the Governour, had killed all their Horses, being as I have heard near a thousand; then with the Governour they retired into the Cittadel, which was fiercely attacked; but the King, having a mighty force, divided his Army, and with one part his Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, besieged St. Omers the twenty eighth of March 1677. On which the Prince of *Rebeck*, Governour, sent pressing Letters to the Prince of *Orange* (then encamped in the *Pais de Wast* near *Gaunt*) to hasten to his succour: The Prince of *Orange* on this, and his great zeal for the Service did what he could to put his Army in order, having none but his own with him, and the eleventh of April, after hard marching, coming to *Castles*, found the Duke of *Orleans* had quitted the Line to meet him, and was in Battel before him. Then the two Armies engaged, and the Battel was

was well fought on both sides for a long time; But the detachment, sent from *Cambray* by the King of *France*, turned the scales. This, together with the Princes fighting on ground he knew not, and where he met with Rivers and Defiles or narrow ways that he never heard on, was the cause of his overthrow.

Soon after this, the seventeenth of *April*, the Cittadel of *Cambray* was rendred, *Don Pedro de Saval* Governor, and *St. Omers* about the twenty eighth of *April* following.

This did not abate the courage of the Prince of *Orange*, for the fourth of *August* following (almost in the view of as good an Army as that he commanded) he besieged *Charleroy*, a place seated on the River *Sambre*, strong by nature, and fortified with all Art imaginable; a Garrison of four or five thousand men, a brave Governor, the Count *de Montal*, no want within; but rather abundance of every thing; very hard to make a good

good Line of Circumvallation, for besides the rockiness of the ground, one part of it must be commanded by a hill, that could not be secured but by an Army without, near as strong as any that might come for the relief; a great Wood that runs several Leagues in length, and in breadth near half a League, joyns to this Line; through this there are great ways or Launs cut, where two or three Squadrions might march in breast, but the stumps and some fallen trees remains still, so that horse or man could hardly pass but in paths, the place not attackable but on one side, and by reason of the *Sambre*, that runs by it, over which there were only Bridges to pass from one quarter to another, which made the Communication very difficult. Thus the Prince lay besieging this place, whilst the Duke *de Villa hermosa* with an Army was encamped on the said Hill, till the Duke of *Luxemburgh* came with his Army, and encamped within little more

more than in a great Camp, I m by the Duke without th the mention ment of t many Cou the great c The Duke Spanish Ger Wood, an But the Pri nerals judge ther impossib work in han near; where to raise the good order 1678. The Confederate consenting t is that for ma been encamp Country of could not be

more than Canon shot of the Wood, in a great Plain, over-against our Camp, I mean that Camp commanded by the Duke *de Villa hermosa*, who lay without the Line, for the defence of the mentioned Hill: On this Campment of the Duke of *Luxemburgh* many Councils of War were held by the great ones of the Confederates: The Duke *de Villa hermosa*, and the Spanish Generals were for passing the Wood, and engaging the Enemy: But the Prince of *Orange*, and his Generals judged it not feizable, and further impossible to succeed with the work in hand, this powerful Army so near; whereupon the Prince resolved to raise the Siege, which he did in good order the fourteenth of *August* 1678. The reason given by the chief Confederate Generals for advising or consenting to this Siege of *Charleroy*, is that for many days both Armies had been encamped near together in the Country of *Alost*, but the French could not be brought to a Battel.

Now

Now the Confederates, finding themselves very strong, besides Foot 22000 Horse, fell on this design, hoping to gain their end in besieging this important place, by the enemies coming to its succour ; this might hold pretty well if the Confederates had pursued their point, when the French came as they could wish, for the Duke of *Luxemburgh* with his Army passed the *Sambre* at *la Bussiere*, and so kept on his March till he came to the encampment near the Wood, which took up at least two days ; in all which time he could not have avoided fighting, if the Confederates had sought it, by marching to meet them ; this faileur is hard to be excused. Much blame was laid on the Prince of *Orange* for not passing the Wood, and attacking the French in their Camp near the Wood ; which if he had done, according to all Maxims of War, he had lost his Army ; for the French would never have given him time to have put his Army in battel,

but

But fought him by piecemeals as he appeared out of the Wood ; besides, his Battalions and Squadrons must needs have been disordered in their march through the Wood. The Generals that were for fighting, alleadged that the French were so encamped that their right Wing could not succour their left ; but it is hardly credible in such an encampment, it being in a great Plain, where nothing could hinder. It was further given out, and spoken publickly, that the Prince raised this Siege on some Letter or Message the King of *England* sent him, and brought by the Earl of *Ossory*. Now, to my own knowledge, and to the view of all the Army, the Earl of *Ossory* came to the Prince some days before *Charleroy* was invested, so that this Message or Letter might have prevented the Siege rather than to have raised it : Besides, if the King of *England*, moved by interest of State, should have sent such Letter or Message, is it to be imagined that he

D would

would have employed the Earl of *Ossory*, who was one of the bravest men of his time, and if he had a fault too fond of glory. Thus you see in what ill station the Prince of *Orange* was.

As we returned from this Siege the twenty fourth of this month, *Binch* fell into our hands, and in a day or two after we took *la Bushire*, but with some shot of Canon.

Soon after this, the tenth of *September*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* attacked the Fort, called the *Three holes*, near *Vilvord*, the Attack begun about ten in the morning, and the night ended it; there were not in it above sixty men, commanded by one Captain *Carpenter*; he and they got much honour, and the French went off with loss of some men.

The Prince of *Orange* being at the *Hague*, the Marshal *de Humers*, besieged *St. Gnilain*, the Duke *de Villa-hermosa*, now commanding in chief, for Monsieur *Waldike*, with the *Holland*

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The King pres, it havin Spaniards up and besieged before both eighteenth an 1678. And a our, the Ma was well defe ously attacke for nothing, a ng in the Tow March it was y The French

land Army, was to obey his Orders, marched for its succour, but coming in sight, found the place yielded, or treating, it being the tenth or eleventh of December. The French resolving to give little rest, the King fell on Gaunt the ninth of March 1678. and had it the eighteenth; the Castle held out two days more. The reason that Gaunt made little resistance, was, it had no Garrison for so great a place, the Burgers did what was done.

The King from Gaunt marched to Ipres, it having been restored to the Spaniards upon the Pyrenean peace, and besieged it, opening the Trenches before both Town and Cittadel the eighteenth and nineteenth of March 1678. And as it had a brave Governor, the Marques de Conflant, so it was well defended; but being vigorously attacked, the Cittadel good for nothing, and many things wanting in the Town, the twenty seventh of March it was yielded.

The French left no stone unturned

for gaining of places, and using sleight as well as force, for a Party sent from *Maestricht* the fourth of *May 1678.* in the night surprised *Leewe*, a very strong and important place, not far from *Lovain.*

Since the taking of *St Guilaen* by the French, *Monts* had been very closely blocked, and so much streightned, that if not speedy relieved, it must yield, having many wants within. On this the Prince of *Orange*, and Duke *de Villahermosa*, resolved to attempt its succour: And having gotten a good Army together, marched, and ariving near *Soigne*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* with his Army retired before them towards *Monts*; but coming within a League and a half, or thereabouts, encamped himself on a large Heath, with the Valley of *Castio* before him, his back towards the Town; The Confederates coming near this Valley, and in full view of the Enemies Camp, the Valley only between the two Armies, the Prince of

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of Orange put his Army in Battel on two Lines, the Spanish Forces had the right Wing, the Duke *de Villabermosa* commanding it; the Army of the States General the left, which the Prince of Orange commanded.

Now before I speak of the Fight, which was altogether in the Valley or on its edges, I must describe the Valley; of its length I saw no end, but its breadth from one side to the other could not be less than a quarter of a League over, and of a great depth; In the bottom runs a little River, and the sides of the Valley very steep, rocky, and full of Wood; no way through it where more than horses may pass one after the other, and that by turnings and windings; The Abbey of St. Denie is seated in it, but so low, that it is not to be seen till you come over it; on the other side the River almost opposite comes in a neck of Land, all plain where the Enemy had a little Camp; the old burnt Castle of Castio

is about a little half League from St. *Denie*, seated on the Valley, and on the same side, but on a height as high as the main land, and very near the edge of the Valley, both these places on our side, but possessed by the Enemy.

The Fight began about one of the clock after Dinner, with the Princes planting Canon against those incamped on the advanced neck of Land, and soon after fell on St. *Denie*, which was well manned, and had had many Battalions sent from the Camp on the height and French Army to assist it; but St. *Denie* being of no strength was quitted, and after much fighting the French Battalions retired to the height, the Princes people pursuing, yet the fight continued, and bloody doings there was. About the same time the Duke de *Villahermosa* fell on *Castio*, and after much resistance, both from those within, and the several Battalions, sent from the French Army to its assistance, took it; yet the

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fight continued, supply from both Armies held till tow French regiments, undly advanced to on our side, Battalions of Ossory, w oppolite to the battle to be done on both sides, lost either killed or preserved by was acting, a two or three Horse, sent into the Valley, another between Battalions, o expected, fell in *Villahermosa*'s Guard Captains, with and Souldiers, in disorder. The

fight continued very warm in the Valley, supplies of Battalions coming from both Armies to help theirs; thus it held till towards the Evening, then the French regained *Castlo*, and their Battalions, under its covert, did not only advance to the edge of the Valley on our side, but formed two or three Battalions on the Plain: The Earl of *Offory*, who commanded the Foot opposite to them, did what was possible to be done, with great killing on both sides, losing most of his Officers, either killed or wounded, and himself preserved by his Arms. Whilst this was acting, and the day almost ended, two or three Squadrons of French Horse, sent from the Army, crossed the Valley, and coming up one after another between the Castle and their Battalions, on the sudden, and not expected, fell on the Duke *de Villahermosa*'s Guards, killing one of their Captains, with several other Officers and Souldiers, putting the rest in great disorder. The French having done

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their work, and seeing more Squadrions advancing towards them, they retired by the way they came; yet the fight continued till it was dark, and more than an hour after by the light of houses near *Castio*, fired by the French, but there being no more houses to burn, all was quiet, and the Troops on both sides returned to their several Lines. About two or three hours after, intelligence was brought that the French had not only quitted *Castio*, but had left their Camp, and were marched towards *Monts*, and it was in great haste, for they left some Tents and other things behind.

The Earl of *Ossory* in this afternoons work purchased to himself, and noble Family immortal honour, commanding the English as General in the States Service.

The Duke of *Munmoutb*, was all along in this fight, and gained as much honour as was possible for a single man, he being but a Voluntier, his Friend and Companion, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*,

places. It is of men were I judge them a five thousand amongst w brave Office. The next *August*, the Arms, and same month of Arms were Peace signed tenth of September of it the 1678. put all

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Armstrong, was shot in two or three places. It is hard to say what number of men were slain, or who lost most, I judg them on both sides about four or five thousand killed and wounded, amongst which were a number of brave Officers.

The next day, being the fifteenth of *August*, there was a suspension of Arms, and ratified the twentieth of the same month: Thus with suspensions of Arms we continued till the general Peace signed at *Nimigu'en* the seventeenth of *September*, with the ratification of it the twenty first of *September* 1678. put all in quiet.

Observations.

I. **I**T is almost impossible for a Confederate Army joyned, and acting together, though under one Generalissimo, to have success, in comparison with the Army of any Prince commanded by one General, if the Armies are

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are near in strength and quality. First, all Generals of the Army that com-
poses this Confederate Body will ex-
pect to be consulted by the Gene-
rallissimo in every undertaking, that
nothing may be done without their
consent. Now the bringing together
these Generals, as it takes up much
time, so often there follows great De-
bates, and whilst this is doing, the
Enemies Army passes a River or De-
file, and sometimes puts a Convoy
into a place that needs it.

As for the succouring a Town be-
sieged, where expedition is required,
there is no more comparison in the
speedy marching of these two Armies,
than the sailing of a single Ship and a
Fleet: For if any of these Generals
do not cordially like the undertaking,
as seldom all do, though they have in
point of honour consented, that Ge-
nerals Army will come slowly to Ren-
dezvouz, and then march with great
formality, drawing up at every turn,
making many haults, and go over
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foot-bridges rather than through a Ford where his men shall not be up to the knees, and might march ten a breast ; and twenty other excuses that I have seen ; and many times these Generals do in a manner refuse the Orders of the Generalissimo, but still cover it with some excuses.

It is certain, that the Army of a Prince under one General will march further in three days than a Confederate Army of the same strength in five ; and when they are come to the place of Acting, all must be called together again, where they seldom or never agree what is to be done. And on this I conclude, that Princes Leagued ought to act as much as possible with their Armies separated.

2. **Woe be to that people whose Country is invaded, and their Prince forced to bring in forain Assistance, far exceeding in force what he hath of his own Troops. These, by what I have seen, are worse than Enemies, set killing aside ; for from these last** they

they seek to save themselves: But Auxilliaries pretend to give safeguards, yet when the Troops of another General comes, they slight this safeguard. Thus the people refuged in Villages, Castles, and Cloysters with all their substance are caught in their security; and sometimes, as I have known, it does not rest with the loss of what they have, but pursued by many Sacrileges and Rapes, sparing neither Religious women, nor others.

And the Army of the Country under the Covert of these strangers, being guides, do more mischief than the strangers. And sometimes this poor distressed Prince, upon pressing occasions, sends his Orders to some one or more of these Generals to march, and they will make an excuse that they cannot get their men to it, till they have two or three months pay due unto them, which must be sent if he will be served.

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3. The security of an Army consists much in the Generals having good intelligence, as well to avoid surprizes as to take advantages when occasions are offered; for there is no Army but in marching or Camping is exposed to the Enemy, if they knew the time for taking their advantage.

4. A General whose condition is to seek fighting must be careful how he brings his Army too near the Enemy well posted, without he comes with resolution to force him in his Camp, or that he can encamp so by him at his ease as the Enemy must be enforced to march off before him; for otherwise, at his going off he will run great risk of being dangerously attacked in the Flank and Rear, or both, especially if it be where there are Defiles or Rivers.

5. A General that marches with an Army for the succour of a Town, besieged by another as great, or near as powerful as that which he commands, if the Enemy on his approach draws off,

off, and puts himself in Battel out of his way, or is marching clear off, the General is not to take notice of him, but without losing time to furnish the wants of the Town, make up the breaches, destroying the Lines and Trenches made by the Enemy.

6. A General that fights an Army of which he knows the strength, hath great advantage of another General that fights he knows not what, as it appears in the Battel of *Castles*, for the Duke of *Orleans* might know, almost to a man, with what strength the Prince of *Orange* could come, but the Prince of *Orange* could not know that of him, whilst the King of *France* was so near, at the Siege of *Cambray*, who with his whole Army might have joyned the Duke of *Orleans* as easily as the Detachment did.

7. A General that hath his Magazines fully stored with all necessaries, and well placed in order to his design, having the advantage of Rivers, and no want of Waggons, may well besiege

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besiege a Town seated near those Rivers in all seasons of the year, and with more advantage in the Winter, or rather in the Spring, before there be forrage, than afterwards; for the Enemy that might be feared to march for the succour must have time to bring his Army together, and then not having the conveniences of Rivers, be forced to bring all his Provisions by Land in Waggons. And it is almost impossible, if his Magazines and Country be far off, to supply his Army with Forrage, being to be brought at so great a distance. This is found by experience, if the times when the King of France besieged *Valenciennes* and *Cambray* be considered, as also when the Marshal *de Humers* besieged *St. Guilian*. And if the Army with this Winter doing be weakened and shattered, the Sieges being over, and Forrage coming on, it will soon recover, or at least be able to make a defensive War for the preservation of Towns that must be attacked in form, and

and are of strength, and in condition to hold out for a reasonable time.

8. An Army marching, and making haults whilst ways are mending, or Bridges making, is not without apprehension, and danger, if the Enemies Army be not far off. To avoid this, when the General hath taken his resolution to march, and by what way, and on how many Colomes or Lines, he immediately sends trusty and knowing Officers with a good Escourt of Horse and Foot with Pioneers to mend and make clear the ways for the march, and if there be Rivers, Boats for Bridges ; then putting good Guides with the Officer commanding each Line, he marches without interruption ; but great care is to be taken that the Lines march equal, and not too far asunder, that so they may (in case of an Alarm) be found, or put easily in order of Battle.

9. A General ought to know, as near as possible may be, the Enemies Provisions, for he that can longest

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10. Troops pressed in fight do incline much to crowd in one upon another, so that if you have not field-room it is hard to untangle, and put them in order in that case; sometimes it may be wished that half the number were away. I have seen this often, but never marked it so particularly as in the fight at *Castio*, when two or three Squadrons of French Horse charged and routed the Duke *de Villa hermosa's* Guards: On this many other Squadrons were commanded to their succour, but the ground was filled to such a degree, as if they must have fought they could never have been put in order to make any resistance.

11. In Battels it ought to be held as an undoubted Maxim of War, that a Wing of Horse, beating the Enemies opposite Wing, is not to move one foot in the pursuit, but to keep its first order, and if the Rout be

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such, that the Enemies ought to be pursued, let it be done by Detachments or commanded men ; and if the Battel gained, no plundering till all be secured.

12. I do not absolutely reject Battels, for in some cases they are to be fought, and in others, though a General do not seek fighting, yet he must expose his Army to Battel, if the Enemy will : But certainly it is a matter of great consideration, especially when a Country is invaded, for the loss of a Battel is many times the loss of a Kingdom : And let a General be never so great a Captain, having ranged his Army in the best manner, and given to his Officers all good Orders, yet when the Armies are once engaged, he can act little more than one mans part, and is subject by the failures of many others to be overthrown.

13. Towns are for the most part besieged because of defects in their Fortifications, or wants within, as

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Men, Ammunition, or Provisions, &c. so that to keep out these Reliefs, a Line of Circumvallation is very necessary, and till it be put in defence neither Horse nor Foot are to pretend rest, or any Trench to be opened; But when all is done, if a considerable Army come to post it self near this Line, if it be not very good, and well flanck'd with a good Ditch and Parapet, no ground to command it, and an Army well to man it, besides those in the Trenches carrying on the Attacks, it is better to hazard a Battel in a plain field than to fight behind the Line; for the Enemy lying by you is commonly strongly posted, will annoy your Convoys, and Foragers, if this will not make you raise your Siege; and if the Town be worth it, he will take his time to attempt your Line by force, and begins commonly an hour or two before day, Alarming you round, falls on with some false Attacks, and two or three real ones; your Line is often twelve miles about;

and if a River runs by the Town, as for the most part there does, this Line is divided, and so your Army has no communication but by Bridges of Boats; and in this case, it being dark, none goes to help the other, but every one stands to defend his part of the Line, none knowing where the real danger is, but he that feels it; and if there be a Camp *Volant* with the General, he may with it march wrong as well as right, and the Enemy once entred, usually all quit the Line, and seek to save themselves, and it is hard to put them in any order of battel to resist; so all that can be hoped for, is to make a reasonable Retreat. Now in case the Enemy fail in their Attempt they run little or no hazard, for they retire before it be full day: And those within the Line dare hardly pursue till parties sent out in the morning to discover return. Now, if you draw out, and fighting gain a Battel, though a relief whilst you are ingaged slip into the place, those within, seeing their Army beaten,

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beaten, lose courage, and in all likelihood will give you little trouble before they render.

14. A General coming before a Town with a design to besiege it, must be well informed of all things within and without before he opens his Trenches, for I have seen by the mistake of the true Attack much time trifled away with the loss of many lives, and I think once of the whole Army.

15. A General that in a retreat brings his Army to attempt the passing a River or great Desile, an Enemies Army being near, or in view, runs too much hazard, if it be not by necessity, and then he is blameable to have brought it to that extremity.

16. The passing of Desiles and Rivers may be attempted, an Enemies Army near, or looking on, in certain cases, as for the succour of a Town, or breaking into an Enemies Country to conquer; The reason of this is chiefly grounded in the difference of mens courages and resolutions, in

Attacking, or being Attacked; for a retreat looks something like running away, especially to the Common Soldiers, and advancing raises them to confidence of overcoming; store of Canon in this case is of great use: But a General having passed with his Army the Rivers or Defiles, and being to return the same way, or by other Rivers or Defiles, must be careful to leave the Passes well secured for his retreat, otherwise after all, if the Enemy seizes the Passes or Defiles, he may in part or in whole lose his Army: This hath hapned three or four times in our days, as I have had it from the Officers that were in the occasion; particularly at *Smolinsko*, a Town belonging to the *Poles*, besieged by the *Muscovites*; the *Polanders* took the Passes behind them; the *Muscovites*, being at least 80000. were made Prisoners of War, with the loss of their Cannon.

17. Great advantages in War are rarely offered, and for the most part pass

pass soon; wherefore though Patience and Circumspection are virtues in a General or chief Commander, yet they ought to be watchful, and hold their Troops so ready that they may not lose the critical minute or precious moment, it being of so much importance in War, that the like peradventure may not happen in the life of a man.

I have seen my self in two or three occasions a Victory gained, that if one quarter of an hour had been omitted in the attempt, the fortune of the day in all likelihood had gone quite contrary to what it did. The cause is clear, and found by experience, for though Man in his Reason be the most excellent of all creatures on earth, yet having lost it by the passion of Fear, is one of the least; and fear doth sometimes seize them in surprises to such a degree that they know not what to do.

How many men in beating up Quarters and Routs are slain, not daring to turn their faces to make resistance,

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though the very same men, being in their judgments, in divers occasions had carried themselves formerly well enough.

18. No Merchant ought to be more exact in keeping his Books than a General ought to be in keeping account of the Enemies Provisions, how they are brought to the Army, and the days.

19. A General must be very wary how he engages his Army in the Siege of a Town, or invades an Enemies Country, chiefly relying on a Party within the Town, or a rising of the People in his favour; I have seen and known fatal consequences in both, even to the loss of Armies, yet sometimes it hath succeeded, as when the Spaniards last took St. *Guilaine* from the French.

The offers of Enemies, or of those that live amongst them, are still to be suspected; if it be for a Town, let a Gate or some commanding Out-work be secured; if a Country, other precautions.

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20. A Prince in time of War ought to be large in rewarding, and very severe in punishing; his General, whilst he is so, to be absolute, and the Prince not apt to hear complaints against him; that there be from the General, even to the Corporal throughout the whole Army an entire and known subordination, that each may know whom he is to command, and whom to obey: Also, that the Troops of the Army may be all on the same foot, and payed alike.

Yet in the King of Spains *Netherlands*, for what reason of State or War I could never learn, there are many important cases undetermined; as between Generals *de Battalia*, and Governours of Provinces, in the Province under their Government who should command; the General *de Battalia* coming into the Province with an Army, or Party; or with Orders to command a Town.

Of the National Regiments, which are in those Countries, few or none will give place to the other, from whence arises (sometimes) dangerous contests even in the face of the Enemy.

One General *de Battalia* will not obey another.

The same amongst *Maistre de Campes* of Foot and Collonels of Foot.

Maistre de Campes of Horse and Collonels of Horse contest with those of the Foot.

Captains of Horse and Majors of Foot contest.

In fine, there is room left for dispute even amongst the Common Souldiers.

21. The person of a successful General, beloved by the Army ; and in high esteem for his Experience and Conduct in War, is hardly to be valued, for the Souldiers believe that with this man they cannot be beaten, and with another of contrary reputation they

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they are always in doubt ; the same holds in proportion with the inferior Commanders : I have seen the effect of this both in Armies and Parties.

22. An Army is more to be valued for its quality, and readiness of Action, than for its number, having all or any of the following defects :

As Generals and other Commanders not of reputation and experience in War.

The Troops composed for the most part of new men.

The Horse not well mounted.

Neither Horse nor Foot well armed.

The Officers for want of Pay not valuing their imployments ; and the Souldiers in a mutinous humour for the same cause.

Great defects and wants in the Artillery and its Train.

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Great difference is to be made between victorious Troops and cow'd or beaten, till the latter be recovered by some good Winter-quarters, or other forces joyned them.

A body of Horse not of the Garrison is never to think themselves safe in a weak place, if a strong Enemy be within a days march of them; to prevent this danger whilst they stay, it is advisable to draw out every night, and not return till the next morning, that the Parties sent out are returned, having well discovered the Country; it is hard duty, but the night it is omitted they lie exposed, and peradventure may find themselves invested before day with Horse and Dragoons, though the Foot come not so soon.

24. Languishing Sieges are to be avoided; for though an Army comes at first with much resolution and courage, and so holds it on for a time they think convenient for taking such a place, yet when they see the General

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doth not advance the Attacks as he ought, and they lose men by sharp Sallies ; sometimes the Cannon nayled, and the lodging of the night before broken down, their Convoys cut ; report of an Army marching for succour ; ill-weather coming on ; and sometimes a smal relief slipping into the Town, which can hardly be avoided till a place be closely blocked ; these, and many other accidents, which Armies at a Siege are subject to, make men cool, and often desert, to the weakening of an Army, that when the Enemies Army appears, they will be found nothing of what they were at first : Therefore I conclude, that reasonable hazarding to make dispatch is the saving of men, and the surest way of taking a Town.

25. I shall conclude my Observations, with a thing that I have been curious in noting, that bloody men are little esteemed in Armies, and for the most part have no true Courage ; that their ends are generally fatal, and sometimes

times catched in the snares they laid for others; those that have been all along in the Wars of *Ireland* can give good testimony of this, if they recollect themselves.

The Confederate Armies commanded by the Prince of *Orange* as *Generalissimo*, and I think all, or most, present at the Battel of *Seneff*, and Siege of *Audenard*, were the Emperours, commanded by the Count *de Souch*; The King of *Spains*, first by the Count *de Monterey*, afterwards by the Duke *de Villahermosa*, both Gouvernours of *Flanders*; That of the States General, commanded by the Count *de Waldike*; That of the Prince and Bishop of *Osneburgh*, by Monsieur *Lovigny*; The Marques of *Brandenburgs*, by Monsieur *Spanne*; That of *Luningbourgh* and *Zelle*, by Monsieur *Chovet*; The Army of *Munster*, by the Baron *de Wedle*.

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Observe that the several Dates of time herein mentioned are to be taken *Stylo Novo.*

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p. 26. l. 16. r. 1673. p. 30 r. seemed often,
l. 16. r. intrenchments. p. 31. for so r. too. p. 42.
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